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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

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A VOYAGE

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TO THE

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NORTHERN PORTS OF CHINA,

IN THE SHIP

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LORD AMHERST.

Mr Lindsay

EXTRACTED FROM PAPERS, PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, RELATING TO THE TRADE WITH CHINA.

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ON A VOYAGE TO

THE NORTHERN PORTS OF CHINA,

BY MR. LINDSAY.

ON the 26th of February 1832, we commenced our voyage in the Lord Amherst, and proceeded out to sea through the Cap Sing and Lyee-mun passages, passing the beautiful harbour of Cow-lung, where a detachment of the Indiamen lay during the discussions of 1829. In all points, both of facility of egress and ingress, and in its perfectly land-locked situation, this harbour can hardly have a superior in the world. Constant fogs and calms prevented our making much progress; but on the evening of the 28th we stood out to sea with a strong wind, which gradually drawing round to the N. E. and E., soon increased to a violent gale, and after a stormy night we were happy to fetch back to Poyo Bay, on the south side of the island of Lantao, 30 miles to eastward off where we started the previous day. It would be tedious and uninteresting to recapitulate

the detail of constant harassing delays and impediments we met with ere we reached Namo, which forms the boundary between Canton and Fokien provinces. The distance is only 220 miles from Macao, yet it took us a period of 31 days. I will content myself with giving a brief description of the various places we were compelled to visit for shelter.

On the 5th of March, finding it impracticable to contend against the adverse wind and current, we anchored in a large bay open to the south; on the east side is a town called Tysha-me, which apparently is a place of some trade, from the numerous junks we saw there. A party from our ship landed at a small village higher up the bay, called Ma-kung. This part of the coast is in Haefung-heen, and belongs to Hway-chow-foo. The character, manners, and language of the natives are singularly different from those in the vicinity of Canton, the dialect of which place is perfectly unintelligible here; that spoken varies but little from the pure Fokien language. The natives appeared poor, but were exceedingly friendly and cordial in their demeanour. The greatest delight was manifested at the fluency with which Mr. Gutzlaff spoke to them, and many visited our ship on the following morning. A naval mandarin of the lowest class also came on board, but showed little curiosity; the only request he made was, that we would speedily depart.

The next place we visited, 9th March, was Cupchee, in the Mandarin dialect Kea-tze. The general appearance of the coast is barren and arid in the extreme. Little or no rice is cultivated; but the

ground yields wheat, Barbadoes millet, and various kinds of vegetables and sugar-cane. One of the principal productions appears to be salt, which is made by the evaporation of sea-water. Numerous salt-pans are to be seen in the vicinity of all the towns along this coast; they are laid out in plots about 50 feet square, and paved with small red stones, which give them a neat appearance. Cup-chee is a walled town of some magnitude, and the river admits the entrance of large junks. Three war-junks of the largest class were lying here, the commanders of which manifested much suspicion towards us, and the greatest anxiety to prevent any intercourse taking place between us and the natives. This, however, they found impossible: during the few days of our stay here our decks were daily crowded with visitors, and in our walk on shore, though a little reserve was shown at first, yet it vanished immediately that they found we could communicate our ideas, and heard Mr. Gutzlaff explain our friendly feelings towards them in their own native dialect. We had several interviews with the commanders of the war-junks, both on board their own vessels and the Lord Amherst. I was requested to inform them the name of the captain, wherefore we came there, and whither we were going, that they might make an official report on the subject. In giving this information, I thought it right to bear in mind the instruction I had received, to avoid giving the Government any intimation that I was acting in the employment of the Company; I therefore gave the following report in writing, with which they professed themselves perfectly satisfied:

"The ship is of the English nation, from Pang-ka-la (Bengal); her complement is 70 men; she is commanded by Hoo-Hea-me, and is bound for Japan." This report, though true in some respects, yet certainly gives no clue for the Chinese to trace the ship. She is from Bengal, and at the period I wrote this it was anticipated that Japan would be comprised in the voyage. As it is probable we shall have frequent communication with Chinese authorities, I thought it best to style myself Chuen-choo, or commander of the vessel; and as my own name would be known in Canton, I substituted for it my Christian name of Hugh Hamilton, which I rendered into Chinese by Hoo-Hea-me.

We had a conversation of some length with these mandarins, in the course of which some unguarded observations were dropped, indicative of the great alarm in which they were relative to the result of the disturbances at Canton. The people on shore also had numerous vague reports on that subject, and we were assailed with eager inquiries as to what was likely to happen.

On the 12th we endeavoured to proceed, but were driven back, and did not quit Cup-chee finally till the 16th. We this day, while working to windward, met with the Agnes returning to Macao; she had left Linting a month before us, to deliver opium to the eastward. We made signals, intimating our desire to communicate with her, to which, however, she paid no attention, but stood to the westward, passing us at the distance of about three miles. On the following day we found we had gained about 15 miles, but an increasing N.E. gale again

compelled us to anchor, about a mile from the town of Shin Tseun, a walled town, built on the left bank of a river of some size, which was crowded with many hundred fishing boats. A very shallow bar prevents large junks from entering here. We went in our boats some miles up the river, and on our return landed at the town and paid a visit to the mandarin in command of the fort, a dilapidated building mounting six guns. Here also we were detained for several days, during which we made several long excursions into the country, and were everywhere surrounded by crowds of wondering villagers, whose demeanour was uniformly kind and polite. The little they had was readily offered to us; and in the villages it was frequently a contest among them who should prevail on us to enter their cottage and partake of their humble fare. We heard that the Agnes had remained at anchor here for nearly a month, and that no communication had taken place between those on board and the inhabitants, but that she had a comprador who supplied them with provisions, and it being evidently his interest to prevent intercourse, he would doubtless use every means in his power to do so by mutual misrepresentations.

The villagers seemed quite surprised on our telling them that we should be delighted to see them on board our ship; and the day after our arrival many availed themselves of our offer, bringing off fish and vegetables. Both here and at Cup-chee several poor people profited by Mr. Gutzlaff's medicines. The disorders prevalent were mostly cutaneous, and, by proper remedies, of very simple

cure. More than one of those who received medicine testified their gratitude by returning the following day with presents of cakes and other trifles, and showed a degree of delicacy which surprised me, by declining any remuneration for what they brought.

This place is in Hwuy-lae-heen, which belongs to Chaou-chow-foo; it is the extreme district of Canton province, bordering with Chang-chow-foo in Fokien. Both from this district and the neighbouring one of Hwuy-chow-foo emigration is very common both to our settlements in the Straits and other parts of the Eastern Archipelago, particularly Borneo, where almost all the Chinese employed in working the gold mines come from these districts. The inhabitants bear the character of being a very lawless intractable race, and frequently rise up in open insurrection against the mandarins. This perhaps accounts for the numerous forts which line all this part of the coast; most of them are, however, in a miserably defenceless condition; three were in sight of our anchorage here, and as many in the vicinity of Cup-chee.

After two ineffectual attempts we finally left this place on the 22d, on the morning, and having gained about 12 miles by beating to windward under a press of sail, we cautiously stood in for shelter during the night, among the dangerous rocks off Breaker Point, where several large junks were also lying. The coast for several miles is here one continued mass of sand; two hills of peculiar appearance and nearly 400 feet high were half covered with the sand, which looks like drifted snow. We landed here and walked some distance

over a sort of sandy downs, which appear to owe their formation to the prevalence of the N. E. wind, which is constantly blowing a cloud of fine sand from shore to shore across a neck of land nearly three miles in width, on which not a blade of grass is visible. On the point there is a square fort, quite dismantled. Being detained a day here, we visited some large villages inland, the natives of which said we were the first Europeans they had ever seen. Many accompanied us back and came to see the ship.

After passing Breaker Point our progress was more speedy, not finding so strong a current against us. Between Breaker Point and Namo are several large towns: on the 25th we tacked several times close to Ting-hae, which is surrounded by a wall, and apparently of considerable extent; and towards the evening we passed Hae-mun, another town of some importance, with a fair wind, the first we had been favoured with since leaving Macao; and by the following morning at daylight, the high land of Namo was seen stretching from N. N. E. to E. N. E. at a distance of about 15 miles. The whole horizon for miles was here covered with fishing-boats, and at a moderate computation there cannot have been less than 1,200 in sight. At noon we passed before the town of Ching-hae, (better known by the provincial pronunciation of Ting-hae); it is the capital of the Heen of the same name, and ranks among the first commercial cities of the province of Canton. Its population exceeds 200,000, and it sends out numerous junks to various parts of the Chinese empire and Eastern Archipelago. The

river, which flows through the town, admits junks of from 300 to 400 tons burthen. From this district numbers of Chinese emigrate yearly, and frequently return to their native town, bringing with them considerable wealth, with which they purchase junks and carry on trade to as great extent as their capital admits. The Taychew men (as this district is called in the local dialect) are celebrated throughout the empire for their enterprising and persevering character. These particulars I have obtained from Mr. Gutzlaff, who was acquainted with many of them in Siam, where he learned their dialect.

The island of Nan Gaou (in the local dialect Namo) is about 14 miles in length, and of irregular breadth, varying from one mile to five or six. On the northern side are two deep bays, at the bottom of which are large villages and a considerable extent of cultivated ground. The general appearance of the island is mountainous and barren, though Chinese industry has here shown what effects patience and perseverance may produce in despite of niggardness of nature. The mandarin resides at the eastern town, which is called Nan-tsze. This island, which is half in Canton, and half in Fokien province, is the second naval station of Canton. It is the residence of a tsung-ping-kwan, or admiral, who has a nominal force of 5,237 men under his command, of which 4,078 belong to Canton, and 1,159 to Fokien. The existence however of these troops, excepting in the imperial army-list, is very doubtful. The defences of the station, as we saw it, consisted in seven or eight small junks, in appearance resembling the

smaller class of Fokien trading vessels, and in all respects very inferior to those of Canton. On the island, at the entrance of the bay, are two forts, the upper one mounting eight, the lower six guns; but, as is invariably the case in Chinese fortifications, they are both commanded by heights immediately behind them; up the bay there is another small fort without any guns. Here also we met with the strongest proofs of the jealousy and suspicion of the mandarins. Wishing to go on board one of their war-junks, we were refused admission, under pretence that the admiral had issued positive orders that no one should hold the slightest communication with us. There were several large trading vessels wind-bound here, and on sailing past one we went on board by the express invitation of her commander, an intelligent and respectable person, who received us with the greatest cordiality. We had been here but few minutes before no less than three small war-boats with mandarins joined us, and at first commenced angrily upbraiding the captain for entering into communication with barbarians. An interesting and amusing conversation followed, in which we soon found that though our opponents were very ready to commence with violent and angry words, yet that a mixture of independent and good-humoured argument very soon lowered their tone, and they ended by apologizing for the uncivil reception we had met with; the blame they threw entirely on their superiors; and we then spent half an hour talking on various subjects in the most friendly manner. The point which seemed to puzzle them most, and indeed give them most uneasiness, was hearing

foreigners converse in their own language, and show some knowledge of their local institutions and geography; it was, however, decided among them that Mr. Gutzlaff was a Chinese from Amoy, and one of them asked me in a confidential way to confess that their surmise was true. I took some trouble to explain to him that far from such being the case, the gentleman had only been six years out of Europe, and previously to that was perfectly unacquainted with the language. Having given all the information required for a report to the mandarins, we parted on friendly terms, the chief man saying to me, "We shall report you to be well-disposed persons, who thoroughly understand the rules of propriety." Much regret was also expressed at their not daring to avail themselves of my invitation to visit the ship. Here, as at Cup-chee, in unguarded freedom of conversation the mandarins dropped hints expressive of the great alarm which the admiral had been in, thinking us a ship of war, as reports had reached them that a numerous fleet was expected at Canton.

We had now quitted Canton province and entered that of Fokien. During the last month we had constant intercourse with the people at every place where we stopped. Strangers, and unprotected either by any force of our own, or by the countenance of their government, we had repeatedly entered their villages and been surrounded by hundreds of Chinese, and instead of the rudeness and insult which is but too frequent near Canton, we had met with nothing but expressions of friendship and good will. It is true the places we have hitherto

visited are mostly poor, nor is it probable that much advantage will ever arise from intercourse with them, but still it was a source of satisfaction and encouragement to us to think that we have made some friends at every spot we have visited. In Fokien we had to look for intercourse of a more important description; but the experience we had gained inspired us with confidence, in looking forward to a continuance of the same friendly disposition on the part of the natives, and that all our difficulties would arise from the interference of the mandarins. Left to themselves, the Chinese are not the jealous and suspicious race they have been generally imagined. These are the ideas that suggested themselves at the time, and the sequel will show that they have been amply realized.

I have few commercial remarks to offer respecting our voyage while in Canton province. Repeated inquiries were made for opium by our visitors, and at Namo some persons, after having seen our goods, promised to go to Ting-hae and procure customers for us. Calicoes appear to attract most notice among the poorer classes, and in barter for provisions they generally preferred 10 cubits or four yards of calico to 1,000 cash, which is equivalent to a dollar; at this rate it would appear that the retail price to those people was as high as 10 dollars per piece, but as we sold none, it would not be fair to draw any conclusion from such premises.

Fokien.

We left Namo on the 28th (March), and made the best of our way towards Amoy. The wind

continued steadily from the north-east, but we had no longer to contend with a current; we therefore made a slow though certain progress every day, anchoring during the night, as it would have been rash to continue under-way on a nearly unknown coast after dark. On the 30th we entered a fine harbour, lying in lat. 23. 45. N. long. 117. 41. E., which penetrates about 10 miles inland, and affords perfectly secure anchorage in any weather. The entrance is distinguished by a small island with a pagoda, and a town of some size, called Tung-shan-ying, is situated on the western entrance. A chart* of this harbour is attached to the one exhibiting our track from Namo to Fuh-chow-foo. We had no communication with the people here, on account of the violence of the weather. During the night of the 30th it blew a strong gale from N. E., which we rode out in perfect security. The wind moderating by the morning, we worked to windward, close in shore, through a very narrow and critical passage, and anchored under the shelter of Hoo-tow-shan, Tiger's Head Hill. The following night we anchored under a headland, which forms the eastern side of the great bay of Amoy, at which place we arrived on the 2d of April, and cast anchor within about one mile of the town.

Amoy.

The charts and descriptions which have already been given of this celebrated emporium render it so

* The charts here and elsewhere alluded to are in the possession of the East India Company.

well known, that little need be added by me on the subject. In Mandarin dialect, the name of the place is Hea-mun, which is pronounced by the natives Ha-moy.

The district in which this flourishing town is situated is one of the most barren in all China, and consequently yields nothing for exportation. It is dependant, even for the necessaries of life, on the neighbouring island of Formosa, which is most aptly described as the granary of the eastern coast of China. In spite of those disadvantages, no spot in the empire numbers so many wealthy and enterprising merchants as Amoy; they have spread themselves all along the coast of China, and have established commercial houses in many parts of the Eastern Archipelago: most of the junks comprehended under the name of tsing-tow (green head), on account of their being painted green at the bow, in distinction from the hung-tow (red head), which is the badge of distinction among vessels from Canton, are the property of Amoy merchants.

Their shortest voyages are to Formosa, in order to provide rice for the consumption of their native district. During the S. W. monsoon, they freight their vessels at this place with sugar, which they sell at various ports to the northward, principally Ning-po, Shang-hae, Teen-sin, and various towns in Manchow Tartary, where they take in cargoes of peas and drugs. Much trade is also carried on by them between Soo-chow-foo, in Keang-san, and the towns of Ting-hae, Keang-mun, and the capital of Canton province.

The greatest part of the foreign trade is carried on

by capitalists belonging to this place. Notwithstanding the exorbitant duties and vexatious treatment they are subjected to at Manilla, they have continued to maintain mercantile relations with that island. Their trade with Tong-quin and Cochin-China is not extensive; but no less than 40 large junks annually frequent Bankok, the capital of Siam. The Fokien junks which go to Borneo, Macassar, Batavia, and the Sooloo Islands, are of the largest class, some of as much as 12,000 peculs, or nearly 800 tons burthen, where they take in extensive investments of what is generally denominated Straits produce. Many of these vessels annually stop at Singapore to procure opium and British manufactures.

Little favour or encouragement appears to have been shown by the reigning dynasty to the enterprising inhabitants of the province of Fokien. They were the last who submitted to their rule, and, from what I have seen, would be the first to avail themselves of an opportunity to shake off the Tartar yoke, which presses heavily on the commercial energy of the people. A systematic plan seems to have been adopted in order to check the rising prosperity of Amoy; first, by removing the foreign trade from it, and latterly by laying the most heavy exactions on native vessels. By the most accurate accounts which Mr. Gutzlaff's numerous acquaintances among natives of this place enabled him to acquire, small junks of 2,000 peculs pay a little more than 1,000 dollars regular duties, besides tribute to the Emperor in produce, of bird's nests, &c., each time they enter the port, unless they bring a cargo of rice, when a

considerable remission is made. The irregular and oppressive exactions of the local government have of late years caused many leading merchants of this place to remove to Shang-hae, Canton, and other places, where they conduct a trade with junks and men from their native district.

Our unexpected arrival at Amoy appeared to create a very strong sensation among all classes. Before we had been half an hour at anchor three separate parties of mandarins, from the civil authorities, the military and the hoppo, visited our ship, with inquiries as to what object had brought us to that place. Our visitors were all exceedingly polite, and the messenger from the hoppo's office inquired whether the ship intended trading here. I readily availed myself of this question, and stated that we now were in want of provisions and water, but that I would gladly trade if I could do so with advantage. On this, one of the messengers of the tetuh, who is the chief military authority, interrupted me by stating that the laws of the Celestial Empire prohibited all foreign trade at this place; it was therefore out of the question.

In the meanwhile we saw a large body of troops drawn up on shore, and an unusual degree of excitement was apparent. One mandarin, in a chair with eight bearers, and several with four, came to a temple abreast of the ship, where they remained a considerable time. The various mandarins left the ship, and repaired to the same place, whence those two sent by the tetuh shortly returned. One was a military man of the sixth rank, named Le, the other a civilian of the seventh, called Chow. The latter,

who was a native of Pekin, took the lead in most of the interviews we had with the mandarins of this place. He now stated that he was deputed to inform us that we must quit the port as speedily as possible, that all the supplies we wanted would be given to us gratuitously, and that we were on no account to go on shore, or have any communication with the inhabitants. I remonstrated rather warmly on the inhospitality of this line of conduct, alluding to the different style of treatment their countrymen met with in our colonies; and I positively declined their offer of a gratuitous supply of provisions, returning my thanks for the liberality of the offer, but explaining that by our customs merchant vessels always purchased the supplies they needed. Our visitors, with much civility, agreed to the justice of our remarks, and apologized for any appearance of inhospitality, by stating that they were only the bearers of a message. They now returned to the temple, and the council held there broke up about dusk. The tetuh, keunminfoo, and all the chief civil and military authorities of the place had assembled there.

During the afternoon numerous boats, filled with well-dressed persons, came round the ship; but several custom-house boats cruised about, and drove them away; yet they could not prevent several from coming near enough to make inquiries as to our nation and cargo, and object in coming, and both by signs and words expressing their friendly feelings. After dark we landed a Chinese servant of Mr. Gutzlaff, who is a native of this place, with directions to go and see some of the leading merchants, in order

to arrange with them for trading outside, in case we found it impracticable to do so openly.

At daylight on the following morning, April 3, we found that several war-junks and boats had arrived, and evidently intended to keep up a very strict surveillance over us. At an early hour the tetuh and other mandarins again assembled at the temple, and the whole shore was lined with troops; in fact, from the bustle and confusion on shore, an observer must have thought that they were in immediate apprehension of attack from an enemy. During the day we had another visit from Le and Chow, with message to the same purport as yesterday. I replied that the best mode would be for Mr. Gutzlaff and myself to go to the town and pay our respects to His Excellency, in order to explain to him what our wishes were, and remove the suspicions which appeared to be entertained of our intentions. They strongly urged us not to go to the town. Before they left the ship, I requested Chow Laon-yay to convey a complimentary card to the tetuh and the funfoo, the chief civil authority, an officer of rank similar to the keunminfoo near Macao, respectfully requesting them to accept a few specimens of English manufactures, consisting of one piece of broad cloth, and one of camlet to each, together with a few pieces of ornamental glass-ware and a telescope, and intimating my wish to be honoured with an interview; but he declined taking charge either of one or the other.

We subsequently visited the town, where we were warmly welcomed by the numerous inhabitants, who surrounded us in great crowds, but were most kind

in their manner. Their delight was great at the fluency with which Mr. Gutzlaff addressed them in their native dialect. We were soon followed by Le Laonyay, who assured us he merely came to prevent our being annoyed by the crowd, and for the purpose of showing us over the town. He also assured us that if we were desirous to see the tetuh, he would give us an audience to-morrow. With this I professed myself satisfied: and having rambled about the town for an hour, we returned to the ship. Although nothing could be more civil than the manner of the mandarin and his attendants, yet their object was evidently to prevent, if possible, any conversation between us and the people: in this, however, they failed, and we had the satisfaction of hearing people of all classes express to us their regret at being prevented from visiting our ship, and the anxiety they felt for permission freely to have intercourse with us. Several more war-junks came in during the day; among others, one carrying the flag of the tsung-ping, or admiral of Kin-mun.

Early on the following morning we found ourselves more closely surrounded by war-vessels of every sort, who commenced a most arbitrary and violent system of treatment to every boat who even approached the ship; some were taken away prisoners to the junks, others were openly plundered and maltreated by the laon-tseangs, or mandarin sailors, for no other offence than speaking to us in a friendly way in passing, or even merely for rowing round our ship; one boat anchored close to us having a board on its bow, on which was written in large characters:

"The tetuh of Amoy hereby issues a clear proclamation. The barbarian ship is ordered to set sail and depart. She is not allowed to anchor and loiter about. The boats and natives of this place are prohibited from approaching or having any intercourse whatever with her."

A deputation of mandarins came in the morning early and delivered to me the following edict, of which Mr. Gutzlaff took a copy, as it was only meant for our perusal:

"Chin, tetuh of all the province of Fokien, a naval commander of various districts, hereby issues his commands to Kwang, yew-keih (or colonel) of the rear camp, that he may fully inform himself thereof.

"Now it appears by an official report that a barbarian kea-pan* ship has arrived at Hea-mun on account of foul winds. On referring to the affairs of these barbarian ships, it appears that on the 21st year of Keaking† an imperial edict was respectfully received, saying,

"'If any of the said barbarian ships unexpectedly approach the sea coast, either of the Fokien or the Che-keang provinces, they must immediately be driven away'; they are not permitted to remain and delay for a single moment; and the men from the said barbarian ships are also prohibited from going on shore. The small boats from the coast are also rigorously forbidden confusedly to approach her,

* A common term for foreign ships in Fokien, derived from the Malay word, ka-pal, a ship.

† Immediately subsequent to Lord Amherst's embassy.

and carry on an illicit commercial intercourse. Respect this.'

" These orders have been respectfully obeyed from former times until now, as is on record.

" Now that the said barbarian ship has approached the boundaries, it is proper, with the utmost speed, urgently to command her to set sail; and besides ordering the officers and soldiers of the various camps to spread themselves along the coast and harbours, in order to prevent any communication, I also issue these my orders, which when they have reached the said yew-keih, let him obediently execute them, and immediately, taking with him Le, showpee (or lieutenant) of his camp, and Chow, candidate for the station of Seun-keen, let them repair to the barbarian ship and promulge the imperial edict, in order fully to inform the said barbarians that the prohibitions of the Celestial Dynasty are severe in the extreme. Its fixed laws do not permit them to cast anchor, and it is absolutely necessary that they set sail on this very day. It is impossible for them to delay and loiter about; moreover, they are not permitted clandestinely to go on shore. If any small boats confusedly approach, let the names of the offenders instantly be reported, that they may be rigorously seized and delivered up for trial. Do not by perverse opposition carelessly involve yourselves in crime. Tremble at this.

" A special proclamation.

" Taoukwang, 12th year, 3d moon."

The mandarins now stated that if I wished to see the tetuh he was ready to give me an audience, and

they were very liberal in unmeaning professions of good will. I rather indignantly remarked that their professions did not at all agree with their deeds, in surrounding us with war-boats, and treating us like enemies instead of friends; and I pointed to the placard on one of the war-boats. The whole party loudly disclaimed any such feeling towards us, and seemed particularly annoyed at my using the word "enemy," begging that we would not harbour such an idea on any account. Mr. Gutzlaff replied to them at considerable length, explaining that friendly actions were preferable to smooth words, and that we had hitherto witnessed none. It was arranged that we should meet the tetuh at noon in the temple, fronting the ship; and in the meanwhile I drew up the following petition, in which I have not attempted to conceal the feelings which any person would naturally entertain at the reception we have met with at a place where we have violated no law, but on the contrary, have expressed the greatest anxiety to conform to the established institutions:

"The English merchant Hoo hereby petitions his Excellency the Tetuh of Fokien province, &c. &c.

"An English vessel from Bengal, bound to Japan and other places, and laden with a cargo of broad cloths, camlets, calicoes, cotton and other goods, arrived at this place on the third day of the third moon. Having been delayed by contrary winds for a long time, our water and provisions are nearly expended; we have therefore entered the harbour of Hea Mun, desiring to purchase what we stand in need of at a fair price. Coming from a distant

country to China, we humbly expected that the Chinese would treat us with kindness, because the two nations have for a long period been on friendly terms, and traded together to their mutual advantage; nevertheless, we see our ship surrounded by war-junks, and an official proclamation is stuck up, forbidding the natives to come on board. Hence we think that some worthless persons have misinformed your Excellency; and thus, being ignorant of the amicable intentions of the English, precautions are adopted as if they were enemies instead of friends of the Chinese.

"Yet your Excellency must assuredly be well aware of the high name and honourable character of the English nation, and that when natives of China resort to her colonies, they are permitted freely to trade, and peacefully to reside there on the same terms as the people of England; no one dares to insult or injure them, nor are they compelled to apply to the mandarins for protection and redress. Such being the case, why should mutual unfriendly feelings be thus provoked? Would it not be preferable for the two nations to strive together which should surpass the other in offices of friendship and mutual kindness?

"Moreover, the power of England is great; its ships are numerous, and its frontiers border upon the middle kingdom. Its sovereign permits his subjects to go and trade in every part of the world, and in the most remote countries; but they are especially commanded to act everywhere with propriety and justice, in order to exhibit by their conduct, the equitable and virtuous dealings of Englishmen.

These are the commands I have received from my superiors, and in visiting any of the Chinese ports, I will act accordingly; but, nevertheless, I cannot tacitly submit to insult.

" I now therefore respectfully present this petition to your Excellency; and trust that I may be permitted to purchase the provisions and water required, for which favour, we strangers will feel greatly obliged.

" 12th year of Taoukwang, 3d moon, 4th day."

Whilst this letter was in the act of preparation we saw several boats full of troops arrive from various directions; small guns or field-pieces were planted along the beach, and four windows were removed from a square stone building, apparently an arsenal or barrack, where we saw numerous soldiers busily employed in placing two large guns in each aperture. It is true they were without carriages, and consequently entirely useless; but these demonstrations being far from amicable, preparations were also made on board, in order adequately to resent any insult which might be offered.

Shortly after noon a messenger from the mandarins came to request our attendance, and we accordingly landed in front of the temple, where they were assembled. About 500 troops were drawn up along the beach, making as great a display of numbers as possible, most of them being in single file. A vast crowd of people covered the beach and the sides of the adjoining hills, presenting a very interesting and animating spectacle. We were received by Le Laouyay, and several other mandarins with white and gold buttons, and by them ushered through a double

line of troops to the principal hall of the temple, where a party of 10 mandarins were seated in a semi-circle to receive us. The outer hall of the temple was filled with military officers in full uniform, with bows and arrows. The party seated consisted of the tetuh and tsung-ping, both military mandarins, with red buttons; the funfoo, a civilian of the sixth rank; and several others, with blue buttons, of military rank.

The tetuh was a stout old man, with a weather-beaten countenance and an open good-humoured expression. I delivered my letter into his hands, which he opened, and commenced reading with the funfoo who sat next to him. We withdrew to a little distance, and seeing that no chairs were offered, I signified my intention not to remain standing before the tribunal, on which we were requested to go into an adjoining apartment, where tea and refreshments were handed to us. In a short time we were requested to return, and the tetuh then addressed me, stating, that it was their wish to treat us with the greatest kindness, as our two nations were on friendly terms, but that we could not be permitted to remain where we were as it was against their laws; that we must instantly remove to a short distance, and that then we should be gratuitously supplied with all we required. To this I replied, as I had previously done, that it was contrary to English customs for merchant ships to receive gratuitous supplies, and that it would lower their character if they consented to be treated like paupers; that all I wished was the liberty to purchase such supplies as we required; and that such a

permission could not be refused by any nation which styled themselves our friends. The tetuh was evidently inclined to concede to our request, and to be as polite as Chinese assumption of national superiority would permit. The tung-ping, who is a Canton man, however repeatedly interfered, and throughout the whole discussion manifested the most decided spirit of hostility towards us. A conversation ensued between himself and Mr. Gutzlaff in the Fokien dialect, in which he roundly declared that our plea of wanting provisions was merely a pretence to veil some sinister purposes; but Mr. Gutzlaff was not the person to be brow-beat by angry words; and he replied to his accusations with so much tact and spirit, that we had the satisfaction to see his opponent completely foiled in his arguments. On this the tung-ping, who was a very voilent-tempered man, lost all command of himself, and the tetuh several times interfered to moderate his anger, which appeared to be greatly increased by seeing that the bystanders evidently enjoyed his discomfiture, and were much amused by some of the apt remarks made by Mr. Gutzlaff.

The result of the conference was, that when they saw that I was determined not to receive our supplies gratuitously, nor to remove the ship to a further distance, they yielded the point, and assured us that we should be provided with all we might require, at a fair price, and that a clerk of the funfoo should act as our comprador. On parting, I thanked the tetuh for the friendly disposition he had personally shown towards us, and said that I should feel highly honoured if he would visit our ship, as he had never

been on board a foreign vessel. He politely thanked me, and declined the offer; but Paou Tajin again interfered, and said, "I view your ship and yourselves with equal contempt and anger:" and then turning to Mr. Gutzlaff, he said, "I know you to be a native of this district traitorously serving barbarians in disguise." A higher compliment to this gentleman's knowledge of the language could certainly not have been paid.

On subsequent reflection I felt convinced in my own mind that in our negotiation with the authorities of this place I had committed several errors, the knowledge of which would, however, prove useful to me in future: first, I was wrong in seeking for an interview with the higher officers of government without a distinct previous understanding that we were to be treated with due civility and courtesy; by standing in the presence of mandarins of inferior rank who were seated near the tetuh we evidently lowered ourselves in their estimation. The experience I acquired here also rendered it apparent to me that by a too scrupulous acquiescence with what the local authorities chose to term the invariable laws of the Celestial Empire, the object of our present voyage, which is principally for the acquisition of information, would in all probability be entirely thwarted; wherever we go we evidently must be prepared to receive positive orders instantly to depart, with threats of the most serious consequences in case we dare to disobey. It therefore became a matter of reflection to me how far I should feel myself justified in disobeying these injunctions, and at least trying the experiment of what measures the autho-

rities would take for enforcing them, when they saw that mere words were disregarded by us. On arriving here we were positively prohibited from setting foot on shore, and ordered to sail away without a moment's delay. Both these points were disobeyed, and the comparatively trifling object of obtaining our provisions on our own terms was successfully contested; would not more important points have been granted to us if we had insisted on them? The result of our subsequent proceeding at Fuhchowfoo convinces me that less submission on our part would have met with greater readiness to meet our wishes on theirs.

We remained at Amoy till the 7th instant, but nothing else worthy of remark occurred except the somewhat singular behaviour of the authorities in sending a simple sailor from one of the trading junks to act as our comprador, instead of one of their own dependents, as had been agreed at the audience. Subsequent to that day no mandarin of any description was permitted to visit the ship, and one Le Laouyay, who had always shown himself very civil and obliging, sent a message to me expressive of his regret at not being allowed to come and bid us farewell. No reason can be assigned for this conduct, excepting a jealous apprehension lest we should establish a too favourable impression of the justice and reason of our arguments. The conduct of the authorities towards the poor man who was commissioned to provide us with provisions was far more unaccountable, and place the wretched weakness and injustice of the government in a very strong light; indeed it is difficult to think or speak with

any respect of a government which is reduced to such contemptible expedients to keep up a semblance of authority. This man had become acquainted with Mr. Gutzlaff during his former visit to Manchou Tartary; and having received some benefits from him, was anxious to come and converse with him. He recognized his features while we were walking through the streets of Amoy; and having some friend in the funfoo's office, he requested permission to be allowed to accompany him on board in a mandarin boat. This officer hearing the circumstances, and his acquaintance with Mr. Gutzlaff, immediately directed him to go and officiate as our comprador; and thus a poor illiterate sailor, who could neither read nor write, found himself suddenly forced into the situation of mediator between ourselves and the highest officers of government; and both himself and the junk he belonged to were made responsible for our acts, over which he could certainly have no possible influence or control. Our water and provisions being all on board on the morning of the 6th of April, this man earnestly requested that I would immediately move the ship. On my inquiring what possible interest he could have in our movements, he told me that the mandarins had stopped the sailing of his junk, which was on the point of starting to Formosa, until our departure, and had further threatened him with corporal punishment unless he induced us to depart. I at first refused him any answer, but sent him with a message to the tetuh, stating that I would readily give a proper reply if a suitable messenger was sent, but otherwise I would not enter into any explanation whatever of my

intentions. He returned shortly with many polite messages, which he either had, or pretended to have, received from the tetuh towards us, but again appealed to our feelings of compassion, declaring that if we did not move out to sea to-morrow morning, he was threatened not only with torture from the mandarins, but the anger of his shipmates, who were all detained on our account. The sole motive which brought him to our ship was his friendly feeling towards Mr. Gutzlaff, and his anxiety to see him, and he now implored that gentleman's intercession in his favour. As I had determined on proceeding to sea the following morning, I did not think it just to keep the poor fellow any longer in suspense; and the burst of joy with which he received the intelligence was strong proof his sincerity, and that he had not been deceiving us, but really was threatened with punishment as he stated. Let it be viewed, however, in either light, either as a concerted scheme between the mandarins and himself, or a real intention on their part to punish him, in order to induce that compliance in us they were otherwise powerless to enforce, I submit it to the judgment of any candid mind whether it does not convey very undignified ideas of a government which finds itself necessitated to adopt such measures to maintain its authority; yet, notwithstanding this, edicts were issued the day after our departure, announcing that the imperial fleet had driven away the barbarian ship.

Mr. Gutzlaff's servant returned on board during the night of the 5th, and informed us that the feeling of alarm excited on our first appearance was beyond belief. The most vague and exaggerated reports

have been spread all along the coast of the disputes between the English and the Chinese authorities, in consequence of the outrages committed in May 1831; and on our arrival a report spread like wildfire, that we were only the precursors of a fleet of twenty ships of war, who were coming to avenge the insults and injuries which had been offered at Canton. Expresses had been, in consequence, sent to the adjoining districts for the collection and concentration of all the disposable forces in the neighbourhood. He further stated, that so soon as the panic in some degree subsided, and the people became satisfied we were merely a merchant-ship, desirous of peacefully trading, and laden with European commodities, that much interest had been excited among the mercantile people, and the greatest anxiety expressed that permission might be granted by the authorities for commercial intercourse. The severity of the measures adopted towards all those who ventured to approach our ship had terrified the respectable traders so much, that none of those to whom he had mentioned his connexion with us dared to engage in any transactions of trade; but a general feeling of disappointment was expressed among all classes at the conduct of their rulers in prohibiting our trading at Amoy.

During the six days we remained at this place we daily landed for exercise, entered both the town and adjoining villages, and took long rambles about the country in every direction. When in the neighbourhood of Amoy we were generally attended by a party of soldiers and mandarins, who were uniformly polite, and assured us their only reason for accom-

panying us was fear lest the unruly populace should do us an injury; but we always were anxious to escape from their offered protection, and throw ourselves on the kind and friendly feeling of the people, which it was really gratifying to witness, whenever no mandarins or their satellites were present to check the spontaneous expression of their good will. On these occasions our party rarely consisted of above three or four, and always unarmed, (excepting a fowling-piece I sometimes carried,) for my object was to show to the people that we reposed in perfect confidence on their hospitality, and that we had too good an opinion of them even to suspect that they could harbour a thought of injuring strangers, who had come as friends to visit them from a distance of many thousand miles. On many occasions, when Mr. Gutzlaff has been surrounded by hundreds of eager listeners, he has been interrupted by loud expressions of the pleasure with which they listened to his pithy and indeed eloquent language. From having lived so long among the lower classes of the Fokien people, Mr. Gutzlaff has obtained a knowledge of their peculiarities, both of thought and language, which no study of books can convey; and this is coupled to a thorough acquaintance with the Chinese classics, which the Chinese are ever delighted to hear quoted, and a copiousness of language which few foreigners ever acquire in any tongue besides their own. The power which this gives any person over the minds of the Chinese, who are peculiarly susceptible to reasonable argument, is extraordinary, and frequently caused me to regret my own comparative ignorance. Every day that I

live in China convinces me more deeply that a very leading cause of the present degradation of foreigners in Canton is general ignorance of the language of the country, and the substitution of a base jargon, as the only medium of communication, so that foreigners are very generally spoken of in the most contemptuous terms before their face, of which they remain in perfect ignorance, from a want of knowledge of the language, a very limited acquaintance with which would ensure much more respect from natives of all ranks.

The result of our constant intercourse with the natives of China, since leaving Macao, had impressed so strongly on my mind the prospective advantages which would be derived by disseminating a little correct information respecting our countrymen among a people who manifest so ready a will to cultivate our friendship, that, after mature reflection of several days, I have determined to take on myself the responsibility of distributing copies of that pamphlet on English Character, written by Mr. Marjoribanks, which gives much useful information in a plain intelligible style. In most places we visited we found the Chinese, even of the higher classes, ignorant, to an extreme degree, of every thing connected with foreigners, so much so, for instance, that I rarely met any who knew the English under any other designation than Hung-maou, "Red Bristled Nation." This work contains a plain account of the English nation, its power and magnitude; it speaks in the most respectful language of the government and emperor of China; it appeals to the best and most philanthropic feelings

of man, as a reason for mutual good-will to subsist between our two nations. It certainly speaks the truth relative to the local government of Canton; but let it be recollected that it has now, for more than a century, availed itself of every means in its power, by edicts, placards,* books, and numerous other ways, to degrade the foreign character as low as possible. Is it not therefore in some degree justifiable, when thus attacked, to defend yourself by all fair and open means?

It has sometimes been sarcastically remarked, that foreigners in China were better liked the less they were known; and the treatment we have received, in comparison with the behaviour of the populace towards foreigners in Canton, may be appealed to in corroboration of this fact. On first appearance, this somewhat mortifying remark appears to contain some truth; but when more closely examined, the most objectionable part falls to the ground. Who are the people in Canton that hate and despise the foreigners? Certainly not the higher and more respectable classes of merchants and shopkeepers, with whom commercial intercourse, to the amount of many millions, is annually carried on. Let one of those men be asked whose honour he would prefer confiding in, a British barbarian or one of his own countrymen? It is not our own numerous servants and dependents; they, it is true, are looked upon by the multitude as placing themselves in a state of degradation by serving barbarians; but still they are far too shrewd observers not to be aware

* Numerous books, bearing the stamp of "By Imperial Authority," speak of foreigners in the grossest language.

of the superiority, both moral and physical, which we possess over their countrymen. It is not, in my opinion, even the mandarins who despise us so much as they affect to do in their edicts and proclamations; they, it is true, keep aloof from us, and affect a disdainful superiority; but having lately had the opportunity of seeing a good deal of Chinese mandarins of all ranks in free and unceremonious intercourse, I cannot help feeling that they act wisely in keeping us at a distance, lest the respect which is felt for their dignity should vanish on a nearer acquaintance.

Those who are best conversant with our situation in Canton will allow that the Chinese, from whom we are daily subject to insults the most galling, are generally persons who have little or no immediate intercourse with us, who are ignorant even of the jargon which serves here in lieu of a language, and therefore have no means of communicating their ideas with us, and forming a correct estimation of our character.

They see that we contentedly submit to be termed barbarians by their rulers; they therefore naturally conclude us to be so. They read, on the placards stuck up about the streets by authority of government, that we are the most depraved and abandoned of beings, addicted to vices which even they look on with disgust; can we be surprised that they believe such to be the fact? Indeed I cannot help wondering at the success of the systematic plan adopted by the government, by which the natural, kind, and friendly feeling of the Chinese towards strangers has been so far perverted, that I have a hundred

times seen mothers teaching their infant children the grossest language of abuse to passing strangers. After a certain period of residence in Canton, the mind grows callous to mere words; but on returning to these annoyances, after having passed several months in constant and free intercourse with Chinese who received us with open arms, and treated us not only as friends, but on repeated occasions as beings of a superior description to themselves, it is impossible to draw the contrast without feelings of pain and mortification. To conclude this long and somewhat irrelevant digression, I have already, in my letter to the select committee, dated 8th September, explained the motives which induced me to distribute the pamphlet on English Character, at every place we visited subsequent to Amoy. In my own mind I am fully satisfied of the good which has and will result from this measure; and indeed, at more than one place, we remained long enough to observe the extraordinary degree of interest which was excited by this little work, and the satisfactory results arising from its circulation.

On the 8th of April we finally left Amoy, and were followed out to sea by the whole imperial squadron of about 12 junks, who kept up a heavy cannonade about six miles a-stern of us during the morning. I will not at present detail all the particulars of our voyage between this and Fuh-chow. We visited the Pang-hoo (Pescadore Islands) and the coast of Formosa, in lat. 23. 38. long. 123. 18. at a place called Woo-teaon-Kang, where we were visited by crowds of curious natives. The coast here consists of mere barren sand-banks; in clear

weather the distant mountains are visible, but not the slightest symptom of vegetation. Many junks were lying here receiving cargoes of rice and sugar, which was brought from the interior in rude carts, drawn by buffaloes. Large warehouses of mats and bamboo were erected on shore. We waited here two days, in consequence of promises to trade; but as they were not fulfilled within the given time, I did not think it worth while to delay any longer.

On the 13th we continued our voyage, with the intention of touching at Chin Chew. The threatening aspect of the weather, and the entire want of shelter in an exposed roadstead, prevented our having any communication with that place; we therefore made the best of our way towards Fuh-chow-foo, passing through the narrow channel between Kaetan and the main land. The charts of this part of the coast are very inaccurate; but I trust that the observations made by Captain Rees, as detailed by the chart exhibiting our track, will prove useful to future navigators in these seas. The multitude of islands is so great, that it was impossible to attempt making any regular survey of them.

At Keetan we had an interview with the tsung-ping, or admiral of that district, on which occasion rather a singular scene took place. This mandarin, whose name is Wan Tajin, is a native of Keung-shan, and had lived some time in the neighbourhood of Macao, where he had frequent opportunities of seeing foreigners. He was received on board the Amherst with the respect due to his rank; a salute of three guns was fired, and every attention paid to him; but it appears that the ideas he had there

acquired of foreign* character did not lead him to imagine that much courtesy was requisite towards us. He began the conversation by abruptly asking various questions, hardly giving me time to reply: "Where do you come from? What is your nation? What business have you here? You must begone instantly," &c. &c. I had just commenced a reply, when his Excellency turned sharply to Mr. Gutzlaff, and said,—"You are a Chinaman;" Mr. Gutzlaff denying it, he told him to take off his cap, that he might see if he wore a tail, which being done, he said, "No, I see you are a Portuguese." I now told him that the ship was English, which assertion he treated with perfect discredit, saying, "I have lived at Macao, and know the barbarian customs; your ship is from Macao." I again replied that it was strange in his Excellency to accuse me of falsehood in this manner, and that both myself and the ship positively were English, in spite of all that he had known and learned at Macao. I then took a pencil and wrote on a slip of paper, "Ta-ying-Kwo (Great Britain) is my nation," and placed it in his hands. On receiving it he burst into the most scornful laugh, and exclaimed, "Nonsense! the great English nation! the petty English nation, you should say! You tell lies to me." Up to this moment I had kept my temper perfectly, and answered all his insulting remarks with civility; but I confess that the grossness of this last speech

* This remark is applicable on various other occasions, and it is a singular fact, that all the mandarins who were personally uncivil, with one exception, were either natives of Canton, or had served in that province.

completely overcame the natural placidity of my disposition. I snatched the paper, which he was still laughing at, out of his hands, and seizing hold of the admiral's arm, I said, "As you have come to my ship merely to insult my nation (the Ta-ying-Kwo) and myself, I insist on your instantly quitting it;" and, suiting the action to my words, I was on the point of handing him out of the cabin. His Excellency now saw that he had carried the matter too far, and commenced apologizing. "Pray excuse me; I did not mean to offend; you know well there is the Ta-se-yang and the Leaon-se-yang (the one is generally applied to Portugal, the other to Goa,) I thought there also was the Ta-ying-Kwo and the Leaon-ying-Kwo; I acknowledge my offence, and again beg you will excuse me." This ingenious apology was accompanied with a profusion of bows, and behaviour as cringing as it had before been insolent. He staid on board a considerable time, but his manners and conduct were so singular as to raise a suspicion that his judgment was not quite sound, which was corroborated by some of his officers who accompanied him, and who expressed much regret at the indecorous behaviour of their commander. I certainly, on no other occasion, witnessed such grossness of conduct and vulgarity of manner as was exhibited by Admiral Wan; for the demeanour of Chinese mandarins in public is generally distinguished by a considerable degree of dignity and decorum.

Subsequently to this interview Admiral Wan moved his junk so close to our ship, that in getting under-way it was impossible to avoid falling foul of

him, and in order to extricate ourselves without damage, it was necessary to cut his cable, as the crew of his junk appeared too much confused and alarmed to take any measures whatever to extricate themselves. This incident appears to have somewhat added to the experience of foreigners, acquired by his Excellency at Macao, for during three days that we subsequently remained in company, his fleet, consisting of several junks, never anchored nearer than half a mile from us. While at anchor at a place in this neighbourhood, where we were detained by contrary wind and current for a day, we remarked an incident strongly exemplifying the tyranny which is exercised by the war vessels over the poor natives of the coast. We were lying near a large village (20th April); on our first going on shore the people were shy and reserved, but after some conversation, and distributing a few books among them, they became re-assured, and the following morning came off in numbers to the ship with fish and vegetables. On remarking to some of the people that our ship was surrounded by boats, whereas not one approached the fleet of war-junks, they replied, "The reason is, that they always take whatever we have and pay us nothing for it; now you pay us well, we are therefore glad to come to you." I confess it was gratifying to see these poor people coming with fearless confidence to us who were the first Europeans they had ever beheld, while they avoided their own countrymen as if they were their enemies.

On the 21st, we were off the entrance to the river of Fuh-chow-foo, but being entirely ignorant

of the coast, we ran some risk of getting on shore on the numerous sand-banks with which it is surrounded. We procured a fisherman from one of the boats to act as a pilot, but the weather became so thick and foggy that Captain Rees did not think it prudent to stand in. We accordingly anchored, and the following morning the regular pilots of the harbour came off to the ship, the fog continuing so dense that you could not see a hundred yards. They at first demurred about taking us in, inquiring if we had a permission; I said, "Take us to the harbour and we will there settle that point satisfactorily with the mandarins." On this they consulted among each other, quite forgetful that Mr. Gutzlaff understood them; the result was, they decided on a scheme which, they thought, would prevent our attempting to enter the port, which was, to say that there were only two fathoms of water over the bar, and that consequently it was impossible to take the ship in. Mr. Gutzlaff told them that we thoroughly understood their manœuvre, but that we also knew what we were about, and were already well informed that there was plenty of water for the ship to pass over the bar, and that we could and would do so without their assistance; but that nevertheless if they behaved well we would give them 20 dollars. On this they again consulted, and seeing that we did not mean to be trifled with, they agreed to take charge of the ship, which they did, and showed so much skill and caution, that after our having safely arrived within the port, I rewarded them with an additional present of 10 dollars. Previous to arriving at this place, I drew up the

following petition to the governor-general of the provinces of Fokien and Che Keang, who resides at Fuh-chow-foo, and determined to be guided by circumstances as to the best mode of presenting it:

"The English merchant Hoo respectfully petitions the Tsung-tah of Fokein and Che Keang.

"An English ship laden with goods from the mother-country, coming from Bengal and bound for Japan, has arrived, and anchored in this port. The cargo of the said ship consists of broad cloth, camlets, calicoes, cotton, watches, telescopes, and other goods. Although these articles are of most excellent quality, yet their prices are very moderate, so that the purchasers thereof will surely obtain profit.

"Now having heard that this fertile district produces excellent tea, the said English merchant is desirous either to purchase some for money, or by barter for his goods; thus both the Chinese and English merchants may be gainers.

"Feeling the highest sentiments of respect towards the laws of the Chinese empire, I have considered it proper, in the first place, respectfully to petition your Excellency to grant your permission for the English merchant to trade, paying the legal duties. I confidently hope that this, my request, may be granted, more especially as the great Emperor cherishes the most benevolent disposition towards foreigners from remote regions; the imperial favour should therefore particularly be extended towards the English, for the Chinese and English nations have for a long period maintained friendly

intercourse, and the merchants of both nations have conducted the commercial affairs with respectability, so that they have been fixed on a firm basis, and moreover the laws of England permit Chinese freely to reside and trade in all the ports of the British empire.

"Your Excellency being possessed of an enlightened mind, I venture to submit, as a subject deserving of your mature consideration, the advantages which would be derived by the province under your government were the wealthy merchants of England permitted to bring here the manufactures of their native country, and receive in exchange for them the produce of this honourable province. This might with justice be permitted.

"If, therefore, your Excellency will permit this English ship to trade with the merchants of this place, our gratitude will be great. I now respectfully await your Excellency's decision, entreating that you will examine into the affair and grant the request.

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 3d month."

No sooner were we anchored off the entrance of the river, (23d April,) than numerous boats came to us from all quarters, and our decks were soon so crowded with visitors that they impeded the duty of the ship; every one appeared anxious for information as to what extraordinary cause had brought a foreign ship to these regions; and on our telling them, and distributing our trading papers and pamphlet, we were assailed with the warmest congratulations on our safe arrival. In order to remedy the

confusion which prevailed from the crowd of natives, a rope was drawn before the mainmast, and the following notice, in large characters, stuck on the mast. The people seemed fully to understand the propriety of the restriction, and yielded a willing obedience to it. During the whole period of our stay here this regulation was kept up when requisite, and a sepoy, with a cutlass, paraded in front of the rope, to maintain order and quiet, nor did a single instance occur of angry words on any occasion.

"A clear Proclamation:

"The captain directs that visitors coming on board the ship should on no account make a noise or talk loudly; a rope is also drawn across the deck, beyond which none are to pass without permission."

On the side of this notice Mr. Gutzlaff also hung up a wooden tablet, on which was engraved, in gold letters, that medical assistance would be given gratuitously to all those who needed it. This notice, from the very first, appeared to give the most lively satisfaction; for I have frequently observed that few nations have a greater partiality to physic than the Chinese, or a more lively confidence in the powers of foreign physicians, to whose remedies they frequently attribute the most extraordinary effects. This confidence in itself may, however, frequently be the means of producing real benefit.

In the afternoon two respectable-looking men, with whom we had held much conversation; were very earnest in their request that we would come on

shore, and see them at their village; we accordingly landed at Hoo Keang, (*vide* Chart) and first having gone to their shop, and taken tea, we walked through the village, and over the small island, accompanied by a great part of the population. On all sides we were assailed with entreaties for a copy of the pamphlet on England, and other books which Mr. Gutzlaff had distributed. I here insert the titles of the various books and pamphlets in Mr. Gutzlaff's possession, none of which had the slightest political tendency:

"A Tract against Lying;" "A Tract against Gambling;" "A Tract in praise of Honesty;" sundry numbers of a miscellaneous work, printed at Malacca under the superintendence of Mr. Milne, containing notices on geography, sciences, intermixed with portions of scripture lectures, and moral essays; copies of Morrison's Translation of the Bible.

All these, except the latter, were in small single volumes, of which Mr. Gutzlaff generally carried several in his pocket for distribution in the villages.

Having walked over the island, we were about to return to the ship, when our two friends again assailed us with entreaties to return and partake of a small entertainment they had prepared for us; this we could not refuse, although it was already dark, and they led us to a public hall of the village, where we found a table spread with an excellent Chinese dinner, to which we were invited to dine. Our hosts would not be seated, but stood and waited on us, at the same time keeping off the dense crowd, which soon filled every part of the hall. The

younger ones climbed on the rafters, and every place from which a glimpse of the strangers could be caught. Nothing, however, could exceed the decorum which was kept up, or the general feeling of kindness and good-will which seemed to prevail towards us. This anecdote is trifling in itself, and unconnected with the public business of the voyage. I have mentioned it as indicative of the natural friendly disposition of the Chinese towards foreigners; and I am happy to say that nothing occurred during our residence here in any way to lessen it.

On the following morning, having neither seen nor heard any thing from the mandarins in the vicinity, I determined on going to the capital for the purpose of presenting my petition in person. Our visitors readily gave us information as to our route, and described the city as between 30 and 40 miles distant. We left the ship at about noon, and in our way up met with several large mandarin boats, who, it appeared, were coming down from the capital to communicate with us. When we arrived opposite the military station of Mingan, some boats also pushed off from the shore, and endeavoured to impede our progress by signs, and peremptory orders not to proceed any further; but as we paid no attention to these, beyond stating what our object was in visiting the capital, they soon quitted us, and after passing Mingan we saw no more war-boats of any description. The Chart by Captain Rees gives an excellent plan of this noble river for 12 miles from its entrance. The narrow passage, called Woo-foo-mun, is in name nearly the same as the Bocca Tigris of the Canton river, to which it bears

some resemblance. There is a ruined fort on each side, and various others are scattered about the hills on the banks of the river, but they merely serve to add to its picturesque beauty, being most of them perfect ruins, and all, with the exception of one at Mingan, entirely dismantled and untenanted. No war-boats of the description about Canton are to be seen here; the only ones we saw were small heavy boats, little different from the common boats of the country. Two or three war-junks were seen lying at the Kwang-tow, where all vessels entering or quitting the harbour stopt to procure their permit. Mingan is distant about 12 miles from Woo-foo-mun; and the mountains on each side are cultivated in ridges to the very summit with wheat and vegetables. For about five miles in the vicinity of Mingan the river is contracted to a narrow channel of not more than a quarter of a mile; and the mountains on each side rise abruptly to a height of several thousand feet. The scenery is highly beautiful, and strongly resembles that on the banks of the Rhine. A few miles above Mingan the river divides into two wide branches, the northern of which leads to Fuh Chow. The banks of the river are here of the richest alluvial soil, and the mountains recede to some distance from the banks; one bold abrupt ridge, terminating in a perpendicular cliff on the southern side, is very remarkable. Having sailed, as near as we could calculate, a distance of 25 miles from Woo-foo-mun, a forest of masts, and several handsome pagodas, intimated the vicinity of the capital; and, finally, we were gratified with a view of the far-famed bridge of

Fuh-Chow-foo, of which the splendour and magnitude is celebrated over the whole empire. The town is here built on both sides of the river, and, on a superficial calculation, I should guess it about two-thirds the size of Canton.

We pulled straight up to a public office on the south side and inquired the way to the Viceroy's palace, which they informed us was in the city on the opposite side of the river, to which we accordingly went. The bridge was thronged with spectators. In passing I counted 33 arches, or rather diamond-shaped piles of huge masses of granite, which support transverse blocks of enormous dimensions. The length I subsequently measured and found to be 420 yards, the breadth not above 14 feet; and narrow as this is, a considerable portion is occupied by temporary shops. The depth of the river is three and four fathoms, with a very rapid current; the flood-tide is hardly felt, except by occasioning a rise in the water. As a work of labour it is wonderful, but no symptoms of architecture or science are displayed; in many places it has sunk considerably, but from its massive structure, it has already stood the test of centuries, and will probably endure for many more. I confess we were disappointed after having read Du Halde's account of the wonderful bridge of 100 arches, described as follows: "It (Fuh-Chow) is chiefly famous on account of its situation, commerce, multitude of learned men, the fertility of its soil, fine rivers, that carry the largest barks of China almost up to its walls, and, lastly, for a surprising bridge, consisting of more than 100 arches, built with fine

white stones, across the bay;" but this is merely one instance out of many in which the missionaries either describe things and places they have never seen, or else give such exaggerated accounts of their magnificence, that no one could recognize them from their description.

We now landed among a dense crowd, and inquiring the way to the Viceroy's palace several ran before us. Our party consisted of five, Mr. Gutzlaff, Stevens, two officers of the Amherst, and myself; we left the boat in charge of the gunner, with directions to push off a little from the shore and allow no person either to quit or enter the boat. We now walked on at a quick pace to keep a-head of the crowd, and having gone at least a mile and a half through the suburbs we came to the city; we were here met by a few police runners, who walked before us. The city walls are high and seem in good repair. We entered under a spacious building through a vaulted passage, but there were no gates. Having gone about a quarter of a mile further, we were ushered into the public office of the Che-heen, and the doors were instantly shut to keep out the rush of people who had followed us.

The surprise expressed by the numerous official attendants, by whom we were now surrounded, at our sudden and totally unexpected appearance, was amusing. We were assailed with numerous questions as to our nation and object; but what appeared to puzzle them most was how we managed to find our way without any guides. In a short time a mandarin with a gold button came from the

Tsung-heh's office; at his request a written report was given to him, including all our names and surnames, on which point a particular inquiry was made. Mr. Gutzlaff assumed the name of Kea Le, as Chinese for his Christian name of Charles. I now produced my petition, and stated it to be my wish to present it in person. He replied that the point should be settled to-morrow, and in the mean time he gave us the welcome information that board and lodging was prepared for us in the vicinity of our boat. In our return towards it we met the Che-heen; we stopped and spoke to him a few words, and I heard him direct some of his attendants to take us to a place where we should be hospitably entertained. After these kind promises our disappointment was great on finding ourselves taken down to our boat, where a host of mandarins were assembled, one of whom with a crystal button, after having examined our persons with a torch in the most supercilious manner, told me that it was quite contrary to the customs of the Celestial Empire for barbarians to inhabit their cities, consequently that we must embark in our boat and go to a vessel on the river, where we would be accommodated. I remonstrated rather warmly at this treatment, urging the promises which had been made us, : and Mr. Gutzlaff also exerted his eloquence, which produced no other result than an angry retort from the principal mandarin (by name Whang) to Chung, a civilian of the fifth class, who held the office of fun-foo, or assistant to the che-foo (a rank similar to the keun-min-foo of Caza-Branca), accusing Mr. Gutzlaff of being a Chinese in disguise, and pretending to recognize Mr. Stevens

as one of two men who were cast away on the coast and brought to Fuh Chow-foo two years ago. (The men he alluded to were two persons belonging to the crew of the Cyprus who were sent overland to Canton.) After rather an angry discussion, in which some of the other mandarins took a part as mediators, assuring me that every thing would be provided for our comfort in the large boat which was prepared for our reception, we accordingly embarked to go there under the guidance of a low military mandarin, who took us to a common trading boat not 20 yards from the beach, which was filled with people of the lowest class. These were ordered to turn out and make way for us ; but I refused to think of entering it, and told him that as we had been deceived and trifled with in this manner, I should go and seek for a lodging myself. We therefore crossed the river and went direct to the custom-house, where we first arrived, and entering it told the people we intended to take up our lodging there. No objection was made, but on the contrary, they assisted us in handing our things out of the boat, till Whang Ta-laon-yay again made his appearance, and said it was out of the question for us to stop there. An old Tartar mandarin, who had already interfered once or twice in our favour, now said, " Come with me, and I will take you to a place close by, where you will be well taken care of." We again removed and crossed over the street to a large public office close at hand, belonging to the tseang-keun, or Tartar general, who also fills the office of hoppo. We had scarcely established ourselves here with our baggage, when Whang appeared again, and in the most

insulting tone ordered us instantly to go to our boat, saying that this was a public office of the tseang-keun's, and barbarians could on no account be permitted to inhabit it; go back to your own boat and stay there; we will send you some food." I now thought that we had sufficiently shown our docility and moderation, from which we had got nothing but insult the most mortifying, and having by this time got a better insight as to the best mode of meeting such conduct, I changed my tone at once, and telling Whang Ta-laon-yay that his conduct towards us was equally deceitful and disgraceful to himself, I plainly declared that I would stay and sleep in the very hall where I was, in defiance of him, and that if they would not give us food, we had provisions of our own. In order to prove we were in earnest, a large table was brought from a corner of the room, on which we laid out our stores, and seated ourselves round it in the centre of the astonished conclave of mandarins, who were evidently quite unprepared for such a measure. A long and curious conversation followed, in which it was evident that all the mandarins present except Whang were well disposed towards us; he, however, was their superior, and made use of every artifice to carry his point. He promised us comfortable lodgings in a temple close at hand, and endeavoured, both by persuasion and threats, to induce us to remove, to all which Mr. Gutzlaff and myself gave but one answer, "that we meant to stay where we were." It was midnight before the matter was finally settled, and the mandarins all left us to our repose. The old mwan-chow who had brought us here appeared much annoyed,

and said, It is not my fault, but Whang is my superior; and both himself and several of the others expressed themselves ashamed of the inhospitality shown towards us. It is worthy of remark, that from the moment we put their authority at defiance, the demeanour of many of the mandarins who appeared before indifferent became cordial and friendly, and even Whang's tone of contempt and insult changed to that of persuasion and argument. It is a singular fact, and one so contrary to general principles of human nature, that nothing but practical experience can convince one of the truth of it; but in every case, both on matters of greater and smaller importance, I have found that little or nothing either can or will ever be obtained from the Chinese government or its officers by humble entreaty and conciliatory arguments, but that the moment the tone is changed, and a resolute determination is evinced of carrying your point at all risks, it will be conceded with apparent readiness, particularly if the claim is founded on justice and moderation; and what is more singular, they appear to look on you with more good-will and cordiality in consequence.

The following morning Mr. Gutzlaff and I had a long conversation with Whang, who showed much tact and cleverness in dropping his offensive assumption of superiority when he was desirous of obtaining information. He was now very particular in his inquiries whether our ship was a man-of-war or not, and what particular business had brought us to Fuh Chow-foo; he also inquired particularly about the books we had distributed at Hae-tan, some of which had been seized in a boat by Admiral

Wan. He requested that copies of them should be given to him for the viceroy, which Mr. Gutzlaff readily promised to send from the ship. I had some copies of the Ying-kwo, one of which I gave him, saying at the same time, that the facts it contained were founded on plain truths, that I was most anxious the viceroy and every mandarin in the kingdom should read it, and that my hopes were it would reach the Emperor. Whang merely replied "puh kan, puh kan"—not dare, not dare—and after having looked over the book, he inquired whether they were printed. Mr. Gutzlaff answered that the tracts were mostly from the Malacca press, and in reply to the question about the Ying-kwo, which appeared to interest him much, I evaded it by saying, "It is a translation from the English, and there are now numerous copies at Singapore for the purpose of distribution among the Chinese junks, every one of which will probably contain a dozen on their return to China." This appeared satisfactory, at least no further questions were asked on the subject. Whang now condescended to converse in a highly agreeable and intelligent manner, asking questions on various subjects. He was very anxious that I should give him a copy of our petition, or at least explain its contents to him; both of which I declined, saying that it was for the tsung-tuh's decision, and that I wished to present it in person at the palace. Whang said that was impossible, as the tsung-tuh had decided on not giving us an audience. I replied, "Then I will return to the chee-heen's office, where I was yesterday, and deliver it to him;" on this Whang exclaimed, "I am the chee-heen;

give me the letter." A moment's reflection convinced me this was untrue, so I remonstrated with him for again deceiving me, as I knew well that he was not the officer he represented himself to be. Whang, having got what information he wanted, again manifested the rancorous ill-will which he appeared to entertain towards us, and on my requesting him to give directions for breakfast to be prepared for us, he said that it was highly improper for us to be entertained in the tseang-keun's office, but that if we went to a boat everything should be sent there. This I declined, and we accordingly went and breakfasted in our own boat, which had been amply supplied with provisions purchased at some neighbouring shops.

We subsequently crossed over the bridge which bears the name Wan. The rush of the crowd to obtain a sight of us was great, and such was the anxiety shown that the roofs of the houses were covered with spectators to see us pass. I distributed copies of the Ying-kwo and some of our trading papers, both in the shops and among the most respectable people. I was anxious to get into a shop where European articles were sold, but did not see any; indeed we were not placed under the most favourable circumstances for making inquiries, as the mandarins in attendance on us were very anxious for our return, and were not ready to give us the information we required. It was almost impossible to get any conversation with the shopkeepers, for no sooner did we enter than the mob rushed in with us and filled the whole open front of the shop, so that the poor people were too anxious about the safety of

their property to be able to give us the information required.

About noon, finding I had no prospect of an audience with the tsung-tuh, I delivered my petition to a mandarin belonging to his office, who had throughout appeared inclined to show us civility, and he promised to deliver it in person within an hour. Before leaving, we once more saw Whang Ta-laon-yay, who insisted that Mr. Stevens was one of the persons who had previously been at Fuh Chow-foo, and carried the point so far as to bring with him a mandarin who had taken charge of these men, when here, and he had the barefaced effrontery to go to Mr. Stevens, and cordially embrace him as an old friend, on which Whang turned to me, and said, "You see your friend is recognized; what is the use of denying the truth?" I merely replied that his artifice was very paltry, as I had myself seen him point out Mr. Stevens as the person who was to be recognized; and having said this we parted, and walked again through a great part of the suburbs to our boat, which we had sent to meet us about two miles down the river. The noise and confusion of the crowd with which we were surrounded whenever we went into the streets, prevented our acquiring much information on commercial subjects, of which we felt desirous; but from the inquiries I made of various persons, and comparing them together, I conceive the following will give a tolerably accurate idea of the shop-prices of various articles of foreign manufacture:

Camlets . . . 4 a' 5 dollars p' chang, or 56 a' 70 dollars p' piece; the higher prices for Dutch camlets.

Superfine Broad Cloth 9 a' 10 dollars p' chang, or 38 a' 42.

Calicoes . . . 9 a' 12 per piece.

Long ells . . . 10 a' 14 —

Iron . . . 2 dollars per pecul, being very plentiful from native mines in the vicinity.

The principal trade of Fuh Chow-foo appears to be carried on with the neighbouring province of Che Keang, numerous vessels of which place were lying in the river, and daily entering and quitting the port; they are distinguished by their peculiar build, which fits them only for coasting vessels, and their black cloth sails. Wood and timber of every description appear the principal articles of trade. Tobacco is also exported in considerable quantities; but tea, which is the staple produce of this part of the country, it is not legal to transport by sea. The cause of this prohibition is evidently an apprehension that, were it permitted, foreigners would avail themselves of it to get their supply without coming to the port of Canton for it.

I endeavoured to ascertain the population of this town, but the accounts I received were so vague and exaggerated that no confidence could be placed in them; some stated it as high as 800,000: I should think somewhat less than one half the more probable amount; but in point of local and commercial advantages, few cities of the empire are more favourably situated than Fuh Chow. The fine river Min,

which is navigable for ships of the largest burthen to within 10 miles of the town (perhaps nearer); runs into the very centre of the Woo-E-Hills, from which the finest black tea comes, the expense of conveying which overland to Canton greatly enhances its value. Fuh Chow is also a far more central situation than Canton for the distribution of British woollen manufactures, which would also be here in greater request from the coldness of the climate. In the latter point, however, some of the more northern ports, such as Ning-po or Shang-hae, have much greater advantages than Fuh Chow.

On returning to the ship, we found that in our absence several junks and war-boats had surrounded us, and had commenced a course of proceedings exactly similar to what we had been subjected to at Amoy, driving away all native boats that approached us. It was therefore evident that only two courses remained for my selection, the one to submit tacitly to the dictation of the mandarins, and relinquish all hopes of succeeding in my object either of trade or intercourse, the other to use such measures as I had in my power to attain my object. I will here take the liberty of observing, that I must have been very dull of observation had I not remarked, during the intercourse I have had with the Chinese officers within the last two months, that much more may be gained by an appeal to their fears than to their friendship ; I therefore in the present case resolved, to a certain extent, to avail myself of the impossibility of the Chinese government rendering any other parties responsible for the acts of the ship under my directions, being guided by my own

feelings of prudence and discretion to avoid hostile collision, and scrupulously abstaining from any acts of violence, excepting in self-defence.

On the 27th, Mr. Gutzlaff and myself went on board the vessel of the mingan-hee or vice-admiral of Mingan, who was in command of the squadron laying about us, consisting of five small and miserably-equipped junks and several boats. He received us with much politeness; and after a short conversation, I stated to him my wish for free intercourse with the people, and that I would thank him to prevent his lam-tseangs from molesting them when they came on board to sell provisions and obtain medicines. Admiral Chin replied, "We only act so for your benefit. The people here are depraved and wicked; they would cause confusion in your ship, and would cheat you; we will gladly give you every thing you want." "Many thanks to your Excellency," replied I, "but I decline your kind offer. I have now come for the purpose of stating that I wish for free intercourse with the people; and if any impediment is offered to it, I shall enter the port with this evening's tide, and shall proceed to await the tsung-tuh's reply opposite to your office at Mingan." Admiral Chin looked astonished, and hesitated for a reply: I added, "In order that my meaning may be perfectly explicit, Mr. Gutzlaff will have the kindness to take down my sentiments in writing, and give them to you." "I understand your meaning perfectly!" exclaimed the admiral eagerly; "let us talk the matter over like friends." We accordingly proceeded to discuss the point in the most amicable manner, and it concluded by the

admiral conceding my request, and promising to come and dine on board the ship. The interdict was instantly taken off, and our ship crowded with visitors. In about an hour he sent three mandarins with his excuses, and promising to come the following day. These mandarins at the same time stated that the admiral had let the people know they might freely visit our ship; but he besought us not to enter the port, as so doing would seriously implicate him. I saw the vantage ground we had gained, and said, "On these terms I promise not to enter; but so soon as the least molestation is given to our visitors, be they merchants or what they will, that same day I will enter the port, and go straight to Mingan. These terms were formally agreed on, and Yang-laon-yay, the civil mandarin of the district, came on the quarter-deck and addressed the people, saying that they were permitted to come on board, but must behave well and quietly. This injunction was really quite unnecessary, as nothing could exceed the decorous conduct of our numerous visitors. Yang-laon-yay had been already several times on board: his residence is at the Kwan-tow, and his rank is similar to the tsu-tang of Macao. From his first interview, he manifested the most friendly feelings, and a strong desire to forward our commercial views, expressing much regret that we had no opium for sale, which fact it was, however, a long time before he thoroughly believed.

It would needlessly swell the pages of this Report, were I to enter into a minute detail of the progress of our intercourse with the people of this place, particularly as I propose doing so more at length in

future; but I must not omit to make mention of one purely accidental, though singular, occurrence, which, in my opinion, has been mainly conducive to the facilities we met with here in our trade; and it is also curious, as exemplifying, in a degree which will scarcely be credited, the extreme cowardice of the Chinese navy, and the terror with which they regard European seamen.

During the night of the 27th the admiral's junk shifted her station, and anchored so close to our bow as to endanger the safety of our vessel, as it was blowing a strong gale of wind at the time. I hailed her in the most civil terms, requesting that they would immediately shift their berth, or we must get foul of each other, and at the same time we fired a large gun to arouse them. Having repeated these warnings several times in vain, and the vessels being every moment in peril of touching, I hailed again, saying that if the junk did not move directly, I would send and cut her cable. To this the only reply was appeals to us as their elder brethren and good friends, and a promise to move by-and-by. The tide having now made strong, the junk's stern came foul of our jib-boom, and then, at the very moment when they should have held on, they commenced veering away the cable, by which unseaman-like manœuvre they carried away our jib and flying jib-booms, and seriously damaged some of our sails and rigging, while our bowsprit tore away her mizen and part of her stern frame. She now dropped alongside, and having already demolished our gig, she let go another anchor as close astern of us as she had been ahead.

In the meanwhile, in order, if possible, to obviate this mishap, our launch, with ten men and two officers, had been sent to cut the junk's cable. There were no arms whatever in the boat, except two short axes. Our launch arrived alongside at the moment the junk let go her second anchor, and Mr. Simpson, the second-mate, and the gunner, jumped on board with axes in their hands, followed by Mr. Jauncey and another man, totally unarmed. On seeing them come on deck, the Chinese crew, in number 40 or 50, were seized with such a panic, that one simultaneous rush was made forward: some ran below, some over the bows, several went head-foremost into the water, and our party of four were left in possession of the junk. The only person to be seen on deck was the admiral and his personal servant, both of whom seemed in the greatest state of alarm. Mr. Simpson now quietly cut the cable as directed, and returned on board. I will not now offer any comment on this singular scene, further than to repeat the plain fact, that four men, two of whom were unarmed, thus took undisputed possession of the vessel of a Chinese admiral, and that during several minutes they were on board, not an individual was to be seen, except the ta-jin himself, and that all his gestures were to implore mercy from an imaginary injury; for our object was to extricate him, as well as ourselves, from the consequences of his ignorant and unseaman-like behaviour. This trifling *fracas* was unattended with any unpleasant consequences, nor did it in the least interrupt the friendly intercourse with the mandarins; on the contrary, it appeared to increase the estimation they held us in, and one very satisfactory

result was, that from that day no war-junk ever anchored within half a mile of us (excepting when they came to trade.) The three spars destroyed by the admiral's junk were replaced before our departure by order of the civil mandarin of the district.

On the following morning, the 28th, a numerous deputation of the elders came from the village of Hoo-keang, were we were so hospitably entertained on our arrival, bringing with them the annexed paper, which was read out loud by Mr. Gutzlaff, on the quarter-deck. I record it as a pleasing testimony of the effect produced by the distribution of our books, particularly the Ying-kwo, the fame of which has spread greatly, and almost the first request of our visitors is to be favoured with a copy. The remark in this address on the character of their rulers I confess surprised me much, till the daily repetition of such sentiments from all classes of people, convinced me not only of the unpopularity of the government, but also that the people dare give utterance to their grievances Our visitors were very curious about last night's affair; and on being told, their delight was extreme, and the general remark was, "You are quite right; our mandarins are rogues, but the pik-sary, "the people," are your friends.

"We, the inhabitants of this village, have never yet seen you foreigners, (foreigners, not barbarians.) All people crowd on board your ship to behold you, and a tablet is hung up therein, stating that there is a physician for the assistance of mankind: there are also tracts against gambling, and other writings, besides a treatise on your country,

with odes and books; all which make manifest your friendly, kind, and virtuous hearts. This is highly praiseworthy; but as our language differs, difficulties will attend our intercourse. The civil and military mandarins of the Fokien province, together with their soldiers and satellites, are unprincipled in their disposition. If you wish to trade here, wait upon his Excellency the Foo-yuen; prostrate yourselves, and ask permission. If he complies, you may then do so; but if he refuses, then go to the districts of Loo and Kang, and there trade; for in that place there is neither a despot nor a master. When you have fully understood this, burn the paper."

We had now been here more than a week, and had in this time established the point of a free intercourse with the people being permitted. Several hundreds daily availed themselves of this; the greater number merely from curiosity, numbers of poor people to profit by Mr. Gutzlaff's medical skill, and a few for purposes of trade. Opium was however the constant subject of inquiry, nor could they for a long time imagine a foreign ship coming without a supply of the fascinating drug. Yang-laon-yay, the civil mandarin, was our daily visitor, and generally dined on board. He was evidently the person appointed by the government as intermediator, for which he was eminently well adapted, both from his keenness and his pleasing conciliatory manners. He, from the first day of his visit to the ship, made particular inquiries about her cargo, and at first talked of purchasing a great portion of it himself; his advice to us was to remain quietly where we were, and that means would be found for

our effecting sales of a portion of the ship's cargo, without implicating any one. I this day accompanied him to Kwan-tow, in order to meet some mandarins who were deputed from the acting tsung-tuh with a reply to my petition. On arriving, we were shown to a large barge, where were several inferior civil mandarins, among others, Kwang-laon-yay, to whom I had given my petition in charge at Fuh Chow. We did not see the deputed officers, who were Kiver-ta-loan-yay, the che-foo, and Whang-ta-jun, a general officer, or foo-tseang on the tsung-tuh's staff. The following edict was submitted to our inspection, and Mr. Gutzlaff took a copy of it.

" Wei, acting tsung-tuh of Fokien and Che-kiang, communicates to the yeu-fa-taon (superintendent of salt) of Fokien, according to the report of the fuh-fang-tung-che ( )

" There is an English barbarian vessel, which has come to an anchor, on account of tempestuous weather, and he has already exhorted and commanded her to get under-weigh. By a statement made, it appears that she has a cargo on board, and permission is requested to dispose of it, and to purchase a cargo of teas in return.

" Upon examination it was found that hitherto no barbarian vessel has sold a cargo* in Fokien province, and the laws prohibit the exportation by sea of the tea which is produced in this province. The said barbarians ought therefore implicitly to obey the laws and regulations of the Celestial Empire.

* The writer is quite wrong in this, as trade was carried on many years in Amoy. Dutch vessels have also traded at Fuh Chow-foo.

"The said nation's King, moreover, has given them a license to go to some specified place and sell their cargo; let them proceed there, and dispose of it accordingly.

"But having encountered a tempest they have anchored here for a while; yet now that the wind and weather is fair, they ought immediately to set sail, and under no pretence delay. This document is accompanied by the orders issued to the said taon-tae, that he may immediately assemble the central division of the tsung-tuh's banner, and also direct the tung-che hastily to repair thither (to the ship), and having clearly understood these orders, speedily communicate them, that they may get under weigh on the same day, and on no account loiter about. Do not oppose. A special document.

"Taon-kwang, 12th year, 3d month, 27th day."

It will be seen that this edict is neither addressed to us, nor does it take any notice of my petition, nor indeed afford any satisfactory proof that it has ever been received. I remarked this, and said that I could not possibly view this document as a reply. Kwang said that my petition was informal, neither my own name nor that of my country being inserted at length; moreover, that there was the following objectionable phrase in it: "For the Chinese and English nations have for a long period maintained friendly intercourse." This the tsing-tuh said was only applicable to Canton, and not to Fokien, which had no intercourse with barbarians. It is worthy of notice that exactly a similar remark was made relative to a letter of the King of England, in which the

Chinese diplomatists were desirous of changing the words "England and China, two nations," to "England and Canton, two places." In reply to the first objection, I said I would re-copy the petition, correcting the errors, and send it again. The second point I debated, and asserted its accuracy on these grounds: That during the 200 years which England and China have traded together, to the mutual advantage of both nations, we had been at war repeatedly with almost every country in the world except the Chinese empire, therefore the remark in my petition was peculiarly applicable.

On our part I objected to the use of the word E. barbarian, which I asserted implied an insult. This they denied, saying that the word was merely equivalent to foreigner. As this subject was one discussed and disputed on various occasions, I will, for the sake of avoiding repetition here, insert the arguments on each side, which were on all occasions produced. The place at which they were committed to paper on both sides was at Shang-hae, where the taon-tae was very anxious to impress on our minds that there was nothing offensive in the term. I have, however, great pleasure in being able to assert that on all occasions the Chinese at once conceded the point, and confessed our arguments incontrovertible; and both at Ning-po and Shang-hae gave proofs thereof, by addressing edicts directly to us, in which the offensive term was entirely omitted. The fairest, and indeed only mode of judging the weight and meaning of a Chinese expression is, by the explanation affixed to it in standard and classical books of their own country; and with such authorities as

can be produced on the subject of this particular word, I confess I have been much surprised to hear that some distinguished Chinese scholars have hesitated in their opinion as to whether the term could justly be objected to by us. I may here remark, that this word is invariably used by the Chinese local authorities in their edicts, although it very frequently appears softened into "foreigner" by the translator.

Remarks on the word E., sent by the Taon-tae of Soo, Sung and Tae, in Keang-nan province. June, 23d, 1832.

"It clearly appears by the explanations given in the sayings of the most ancient sages of the Central Flowery Nation (Chung Wha), that the southern places are called Man;* the western places are called Jung;† the eastern places are called E.; the northern places are called Teih.‡ Therefore the nations to the south, north, east and west have been designated thus from the highest antiquity until the present day. Further, the celebrated sages of the Central Flowery Nation, Shun§ and Wang Wang

* Man; the usual acceptation of this word denotes savages, a race of beings in the lowest state of barbarism. In a statistical work, published at Canton, all European nations are included under this term.

† Jung; the character means military weapons.

‡ Teih; from dog and fire, formerly used to designate the Tartars.

§ Shun, a celebrated king, supposed to have reigned B. C. 2170. Nan was king of Chow, and father of Woo Wang, the founder of the dynasty of Chow, B. C. 1105. This argument proves nothing. Many of the Roman emperors were "barbari."

(King Wang), are styled by Mencius, the first, a native of the Eastern E.; the other of the Western E.; how then can this term be disrespectful, except in your own imagination?"

Reply to the above.

"The English captain Hoo-Hea-me has respectfully examined the reasons assigned for designating foreigners in general, as E., and the English as Eastern E., and offers the following reply:

"In the first place, the ancient sages of your honourable nation apply the term Eastern E. to the Coreans; but Great Britain lays to the N. W. of the Ta Treng (Chinese) nation.

"2d. It is inapplicable, because the colonies of Great Britain lay both to the north, south, east and west of the Chinese empire.

"3d objection. In the 11th section of the Ta-tsing hway-teen (a statistical work on China, published by imperial authority), the E. are classed under the same head as the Meaon, Yaon, Man, Keang, and Mih tribes, who live within the limits of the Chinese empire.

"4th objection. Soo-tung-po (a celebrated classic author) says, "The E. and the Teih cannot be governed by the same rules of government as those of the central nation. They are like the brute creation (like birds and beasts); if liberal rules of government were applied to them, it would infallibly give rise to rebellious confusion. The ancient kings knew this

well, and therefore ruled them without laws.* This mode of government is decidedly the most judicious mode of governing them.

" Hence it appears that the designation of E. is equivalent to Man and Mih; and to apply such a term to the natives of Great Britain is an insult to the honourable character of their country; and by irritating their minds, can only be productive of enmity and ill-will."

Before parting with these mandarins, I promised to send a new copy of my former petition the following morning, accompanied by another. They were very urgent that I should take their advice as to the contents of it. Yang-laon-yay in particular made use of the strongest language to induce us to confide in his sincerity; assuring us that his only object was to forward our views. On one occasion, on the following day, in urging the point of being allowed to see the contents of my petition, he made use of the following oath, which is the most solemn a Chinese can use—Tein-ta-luy.

" May heaven strike, and thunder rend me, if I harbour one thought of deceit towards you." I replied that for himself I felt the greatest regard, but that I refused to show him the petition because I did not wish the other mandarins to know its contents.

* In the original there is a great deal of play on the word che, to rule. Rule without rule, or without any regard to law or justice, is clearly meant. It must be allowed that the officers of the Canton government have studied in the school of the ancient kings.

With this he was satisfied, and I gave him the following short address, inclosing an amended copy of my former petition (30 April), with the names written at full length, but I would not omit the sentence objected to. I have omitted to mention, that on the 27th the tsung-tuh sent down by the mandarin, to whom I delivered the petition, sundry presents of provisions, consisting of

6 jars of Shain-hing wine.
3 tubs of flour.
4 pigs.
And some fruit and vegetables.

I wished Kwang Lain Yay to take a piece of broad cloth and a telescope, as a return of politeness, but he refused; so I merely returned a short note of thanks.

"The English merchant Hoo-Hea-me presents a respectful petition to his Excellency the tsung-tuh of Fokien and Che Keang.

"The names and surnames not having been distinctly stated in my former petition, I have now made another copy, correcting the error, which I respectfully present. I have now perused the document addressed to the Yeu-fa-tain; but my ship has entered the port in order to trade, not as is therein stated on account of tempestuous winds; and having come to Fuh Chou from a great distance for this purpose, our losses will be great if we do not effect our object. Moreover, the Sovereign of England permits his subjects to trade in every part of the world, and in the ship there is a license to that effect;

I have therefore come to Fuh Chow, and earnestly hope that my wishes may be fulfilled, for the Sovereign of England freely permits the vessels of China to trade in all ports subject to Great Britain, of which privilege many ships of this province avail themselves, and obtain great profit. We therefore wish that equal privileges may be extended to us, and that we may be permitted to trade. I now confidently hope that your Excellency will grant our request, and then, so soon as our business is concluded, we will instantly set sail.

" Taon Kwan, 14th year, 4th moon, 1st day."

During the next few days we did not see or hear anything of Yang Lain Yay; the people also, who supplied us with provisions, told us that a system of espionage was established on shore among all the villages in the neighbourhood, in order to persecute any persons who brought us provisions, or traded with us. This we heard from many quarters, and the truth of it was made evident by our supplies being entirely stopped, our compradors telling us, that though no impediment was placed on their coming in person, yet that the police people required a large bribe to permit the boats to bring anything off to us. Many of our friends repeatedly said to us, " Go into the port, and you will then get all you want."

I hesitated a little until I thought I had sufficient grounds; but on the 2d of May, on seeing the following proclamations, one of which was from Admiral Chin, stuck up in all the villages, I made up my mind to consider the arrangement I had entered into

with him as violated, and resolved to enter the port the following day :

" Whang, the chin, the foo-tseang of Mingan-hee, issue the following proclamation to the people who live on the sea-coast, that they may inform themselves thereof.

" The barbarian ship according to law is not allowed to enter the port and sell her cargo; but fearing lest the ignorant and stupid people, eager after small gain, may clandestinely enter into an intercourse and supply her with rice and tea, we now prohibit it most strictly, and therefore issue our clear commands. Now if there be any unnatural and treacherous natives, who in their boats approach the barbarian vessels, they will surely be seized upon with severity, be subjected to a strict examination, and be dealt with to the utmost rigour of the law; not the slightest forbearance will be shown towards them. The government vessels, both civil and military, are now cruizing about in order to enforce this order. You must all respectfully obey; do not slight this, or you will have cause subsequently for repentance. A special proclamation."

" Yuen, the chee-heen of Mingan, in Fuh Chow-foo, hereby issues a severe prohibition.

" On examination it has been found that a barbarian ka-pan ship anchors and saunters about over the surface of the ocean; according to the report given, she wanders to every port and shore, although guarded against, pursued and expelled, as stands on record. Fearful lest there might be fishermen who

clandestinely engage in illegal intercourse and purchase prohibited goods, I issue my additional commands, and send my runners to examine and seize upon those who engage in any transaction outside. I hereby rigorously prohibit this, and issue this proclamation to inform the fishermen, that I do not allow any secret transactions by going out to sea and clandestinely purchasing the cargo of the said barbarian ship. If you disobey, your persons will be seized, and you will be most strictly prosecuted. No forbearance will be shown. Let all strictly obey. A special edict.

"12th year, 3d moon, 24th day."

On the 3d the ship moved into the river, and anchored directly opposite the custom-house. The narrow passage, called Woo-foo-meen or the Five Tigers' Gates, is considered as forming the entrance into the port, though the anchorage is quite as good outside. In taking this measure, which to some may appear rash, I did not do so without seeing my way clearly before me on all sides of the question. If my entering the port had produced a decided spirit of hostility on the part of the government, I had three reasons to assign for so doing.

1st. That I had as yet received no official reply to my petition.

2d. That the local officers had forfeited their promise that the natives should be at liberty to supply us with provisions.

3d. That the admiral had not fulfilled his promise to repay us for the damage he had occasioned in running foul of the ship.

In case of necessity, I therefore made up my mind to say, that so soon as these points were satisfactorily settled, I would move the ship; for the point of trade was not one which I was prepared publicly to maintain as a right, but merely as a point to be urged or not, according to circumstances. The voyage was entirely an experimental one, and as we bore no official character to render the Company in any way responsible for our acts, there appeared to me no reason why a slight experiment should not be tried on the government, by an appeal to its fears and weakness, of which we had already seen such ample proofs.

Four war-junks, which for some days past had been laying about half a mile from us, followed us in, and on entering we perceived that two large trading-junks had within the last few days been converted into men-of-war, and were now filled with laon-tseangs and mounting two large guns at each gangway. We had scarcely anchored before Yang Laon Yay, whom we had not seen for three days, came on board, apparently in great agitation; his principal object was to implore us not to proceed further.

The success of this measure of entering the port was not long in doubt. The following morning, (May 4,) soon after daylight, Yang came again on board, and said, "When you first came here you told me you would be satisfied if you sold goods to the amount of 10,000 dollars; now I have some friends who are desirous to make a purchase to that amount; will that induce you to quit the port?" I answered in the affirmative, not feeling very anxious about

disposing of more than a portion of our investment here, in order to reserve enough for other places to the northward. After a little further conversation, it was settled that, as it would be inconvenient to tranship goods immediately in front of the custom-house, the ship should move to her old anchorage as soon as a deposit of 10 per cent. or 1000 dollars was lodged in my hands as bargain-money. Yang also stipulated for a commission of three per cent. to be allowed him on the transaction, and he left us, having pledged that the money should be on board by the 6th or 7th.

He kept his word, and on the 7th brought off a party of merchants, who told us they were regular dealers in European goods, and yearly went to Canton to make purchases, and from the accurate knowledge they possessed of their various qualities, it was evident they had much experience in this trade. The prices I asked were 40 dollars per piece for camlets, 36 for superior broad cloth, 30 for super, and 7. 5 for an average the calicoes. These appreciations were much objected to on their part, and the highest offer they at first would make was 33 dollars for camlets, and 30 for cloth, super-fine, 26 for super, and 7 dollars for calico, which I positively refused to accept; and after a long discussion, they left us, promising to consider the point and return the following day.

Yang Laon Yay again accompanied the merchants to the ship, (May 8,) and appeared very anxious to bring our bargain to a termination; this, however, was attended with some difficulty, as they positively objected to making any advance on their offer of

yesterday, beyond 34 for camlets and 32 for broad cloth. I urged to them that I was well aware the retail prices at the capital would warrant a much higher price, and that they could not purchase the goods at Canton for the sum they offered. Their reply to this argument was, that they must incur heavy expenses in fees to various mandarins to wink at the transaction; this was probably true, and after some further discussion, Yang Laon Yay interfered as mediator, and the price was finally settled at 35 for camlets, 33 for broad cloth, and 7. 2. for calico. At this appreciation I would only consent to dispose of 100 pieces of camlets, 60 of broad cloth, and 100 of calico, amounting to the sum of

	$
100 pieces of camlet, at $ 35 per piece .	3,500
60 pieces of sup. broad cloth, at $ 33 per piece	1,980
100 pieces of calico, at $ 7. 2. per piece	720
Dollars,	6,200

The merchants were willing, and indeed desirous, of doubling the quantity, but not feeling any anxiety about the disposal of a large portion of our small investment at this place, I informed them that if they wished to extend their purchases, they must make an advance of 2 dollars per piece on camlets and broad cloth, and give 7. 5. for an average of the different qualities of calico.

Immediately on the adjustment of the prices, the bargain-money, which they had brought with them, was deposited in our hands, and in fulfilment of the

pledge I had given, the ship moved out of the river the following morning and anchored at her former station. Three small war-junks accompanied us out, but remained at a distance of nearly a mile. The goods were not transhipped till the 12th; and I confess that, in spite of all we had witnessed, it was not without considerable surprise that I saw the extraordinary difference between Chinese theory and practice which was exemplified on the present instance.

I have omitted to mention that on the morning of the 10th we heard that official orders had been received from the T-sung-tuh, announcing the degradation and dismissal of Chin-Ta-jin, foo-tseang or vice-admiral of Mingan, and two other naval officers, on account of the entrance of the Lord Amherst; and that a successor had been appointed to Chin in the person of Lin Ta-laon Yay, who had filled the inferior office of tsan-tseang at Amoy, and was one of the officers assembled to give us audience there. This circumstance in itself is very expressive, and it is difficult to feel much respect for a government which, seeing itself powerless to enforce its orders on a small merchant vessel, feels itself compelled to throw the blame of its own weakness, and endeavour to support its credit with the public, by the punishment of its subordinate officers.

Only two days subsequent to this event it was not a little surprising for us to see two small-sized war-junks come alongside the ship, in which were Yang Laon Yay and his friends, who told us they came to take away the bales they had purchased, and pay the remainder of the price. Bags of money were accordingly handed out of the junks, and given to

our shroff for examination; and at the same time the bales of cloth and camlet were opened, examined, and then marked and handed into the war-junks alongside. This took place in open day-light, and our decks were crowded at the time with upwards of 100 visitors. I could not refrain from asking Yang Laon Yay how he could possibly reconcile the scene which was at that moment going on with the events of the last few days, and the edicts which I had seen, only two days before, placarded on the very door of his own office; and I told him that I felt confident that the whole proceeding was by the express though tacit sanction of the viceroy himself. Yang denied this, but in a manner which only strengthened my impression of the justice of my surmise. Be it as it will, such were the facts. Strange and almost incredible as it will appear to those practically unacquainted with the complicated machinery and habitual deception of the Chinese government, only three days subsequent to an admiral and several superior officers having been degraded from their rank for having permitted a foreign merchant ship to force the entrance of the port of one of the principal towns in the empire, and while edicts are placarded in every quarter, prohibiting all natives, under the severest penalties of the law, from holding the slightest intercourse with the barbarian ship, two war-junks hoisting the imperial flag come, in the open face of day, and trade with her, in the presence of hundreds of spectators, while the civil mandarin of the district stays on board the whole time, examines the goods, and assists in the transaction.

The payment for these goods was made partly in dollars, which are not defaced here by stamping chops on them, as in Canton, and partly in Sycee silver, which was at first tendered for payment at 700, but on my refusing to receive it, except at 720, the point was finally conceded, and 2,089.700 tales were paid. The ingots are of quite a different description from those in use at Canton; but after examination they were pronounced by our shroff to be of excellent quality.

During my stay at this port I gave much attention to the instructions I had received relative to the attainment of information as to the facilities attending the purchase and lading of teas; and the result was, that I did not consider it advisable to attempt it on this occasion, though I have no doubt that I might have made arrangements which would have ensured my obtaining a cargo, had I been able to specify some certain period for my return. On our arrival I mentioned my desire to purchase tea to all the respectable mercantile people who visited us, several of whom readily entered into my views, and brought down a variety of musters for my inspection. A difficulty here presented itself which finally proved an insurmountable obstacle against entering into any speculation of this sort: neither myself nor any person on board the ship was possessed of any knowledge or experience as to the quality and relative value of the teas which were submitted to our inspection; and after some fruitless endeavours to establish what their real value should be, I finally gave up all idea of attempting to purchase any of the finer description, but told some of those who had tendered tea,

that if they would bring down a few chests of good strong ordinary tea, at about 20 dollars a pecul, I would then be enabled to decide whether I could enter into agreements with them for a large supply. One man brought four chests of Chop Hop Chune, weighing net about 200 catties, for which I paid 15 dollars per pecul, or 30 dollars, which appears, by the report I annex to this, not to have been dear. Another man brought one chest of Chop Hop Hing as a muster, of which he had 200 chests, which he was willing to supply me with for 35 dollars per pecul, at which rate I declined entering into the purchase, merely receiving the chest which he had brought, for which I paid 21 dollars, greatly more than its value, as it appears. Feeling satisfied, however, that no satisfactory result could arise from blindly entering into a traffic in which I had no knowledge or experience to guide me, I declined making any more purchases, though I have no doubt that had Mr. Reeves, or any one possessed of a knowledge of teas been with us, we might readily have procured several hundred chests of good tea at the proper prices, which I consider to be about 30 per cent. below those of Canton. The musters which I received were all put in glass bottles, which I considered the best mode of preserving them, though I have subsequently found that tea thus packed invariably spoils. I subjoin to this the report which Mr. Reeves has kindly drawn up, of the outturn of the various musters I submitted to him. The four chests, one Hop Hung and three Hop Chune, will be shipped for England on the Honourable Company's ship Dunira.

Fine Pekoe, such as sold last season, for the continent of Europe, at about 100 tales per pecul. For England, I do not think it would answer at above 60 tales, and then only in small quantities.

Bottle, No. 1. Tendered at 60 dollars per pecul.

A very black-leafed Pekoe, worth about 28 tales in appearance, but much would depend on its strength and flavour, neither of which can be discovered by the present muster, which is quite spoiled.

No. 2. Tendered at 40 dollars per pecul.

An Ankoi kind of tea, such as usually sells at Canton at 18 or 20 tales.

No. 3. 30 dollars.

A similar description of tea, worth from 2 to 4 tales per pecul more.

No. 4. 30 dollars.

The canister contains a pale-leafed Souchong, of a quality more esteemed for Chinese use than for English. From musters of a similar kind of tea which I saw here last season, I should judge it to be worth in Canton, for native use, above 30 tales, while for England I should not value it much above 20.

No. 5. Valued at 35 dollars.

The jar contains what appears to be a Hyson tea, without having the skin, young hyson and gunpowder separated from it, and in this state would be worth very little for the English market.

No. 6. Native tea, of the neighbouring district of and called after that name; price quoted 20 to 25 dollars.

Hop Hung; one chest of a large-leafed Ankoi kind of tea, worth at Canton about 16 tales.

No. 7. In this chest I was quite deceived; quoted as worth 35 dollars per pecul. I gave 21 dollars for the chest.

Hop Chune, five chests. Large greyish mixed Congo, or low Souchong kind of tea, which would rank about equal to the second price of the Company's Fokien Bohea, say 16 tales.

No. 8. For four chests, weighing 200 catties, I gave 30 dollars, or 15 per pecul. One chest was damaged, probably from having been opened and examined on board ship.

Eu-Wo, a 25 catty box. A very small blackish-leafed tea, in papers, musty and perfectly spoiled. From its appearance, I should think it may have been worth about 25 tales.

No. 9. For one chest, weighing about 25 catties, I gave seven dollars.

It must be borne in mind that these valuations are given almost entirely upon the appearance of the leaf alone, the musters, with the exception of those in chests, Hop Hung and Hop Chune, being all more or less out of condition, and most of them quite spoiled.

To conclude, I must candidly confess my extreme regret that my ignorance on this topic should have disqualified me from attaining much useful and valuable information on the subject of tea, which might have been attained had any one possessed of the requisite knowledge been on board; for the anxiety of the people to induce me to enter into agreements to purchase tea from them was great, notwithstanding the law which prohibits any shipments of tea by sea, even in native junks. One of the most respectable merchants, who was in the habit of visiting the ship, writes to me in these terms: "But I have formerly asked you, why does not your honourable ship go out into the open ocean? I have already told you I only wait to know the

place where you will go, and I shall take tea on board my vessel, and transport it without interruption. As regards tea, it is somewhat scarce at present; but if you have confidence in me, and will transact the business secretly, and inform me by letter beforehand, then there will be no difficulty in supplying you not only with 10,000 catties of tea, but with any quantity you may desire," (literally, ten millions of peculs.) The letter concludes with saying, "If you are really desirous of purchasing Congo tea, I wish to provide you with some, exchanging every pecul for an adequate quantity of opium," (even to the last day it was almost impossible to persuade the merchants that we really had no opium for sale.) This was the person from whom I obtained four chests of Chop Hop Chune, and he was very desiring of supplying us with 200 chests of the same quality, but, for the reasons above stated, I declined purchasing any more. The tea in general use among the natives in the district where we were is a description of green tea, of which No. 6 was a muster: it is called Leen-keang, from the adjoining heen of that name, where it grows. It is a pleasant-flavoured tea, but not having undergone the proper process of firing, would probably not keep to England.

The river Min, which although in magnitude may seem but insignificant in comparison with several of the vast rivers which traverse the empire of China and a great portion of Asia, yet, in real utility and mercantile importance, will contest the palm with any of them. Its three principal branches take their rise, one in the district of Kee-chow-foo, in the

neighbouring province of Che-kiang, and after passing through the country of the Woo-E.-hills, in Keen-ning-foo, whence comes all the finest black tea, it joins with the other two branches, which have their origin among the mountains of Keang-se, and taking a serpentine course through the foot of Yin-ping, Ting-chow, Shaen-woo, and Yung-chuun, they join the other river a little before it reaches the capital. Had we therefore the liberty of trading here, the tea which is now brought at a vast expense to Canton, might be conveyed in boats from the very farms where it is cultivated on board the ships. All the green tea grown in Che-kiang and Keang-nan would also find a comparatively easy transit by this route, although Ning-po is perhaps the port which presents the greatest facilities for the trade in raw silks and green teas. The great national advantages which would be derived from the permission to trade with this place are so obvious as hardly to require any comment. In the mere item of difference in expense incurred between transporting the tea to Canton and to Fuh Chow-foo, a saving of nearly four tales per pecul on 150,000 peculs, or 600,000 tales, would be annually made.

As regards the probability of establishing foreign trade at Fuh Chow-foo, the experience which I have there attained has led me to form the following conclusion: That, under present circumstances, an avowed permission is not to be expected from the Chinese government, and that it will be invariably refused when requested as a favour, but that a tacit sanction, and indeed connivance, will readily be extorted from their weakness, provided ships remain

outside the port, in which case the government can make out any account they please to transmit to the Emperor. Some management will be required by the first ships which come there to steer a course which will both keep the mandarins at a respectful distance and at the same time conciliate the good will of the people. This will remove one great source of uneasiness to the local government, lest affrays and homicides should arise between the natives and foreigners, which must then necessarily involve the mandarins. Nothing, however, will be more easy than to continue and improve the mutual good understanding which prevailed during the whole period of our stay; it is only when the Chinese see the foreigners insulted and despised by their rulers that they also habitually treat them with equal disrespect, and thus a sort of national antipathy is created, which indeed it is the main object of the Chinese government to promote. At Canton they have succeeded too well; let us hope that when the time arrives in which foreigners are again allowed to frequent other parts of China circumstances may be different; for when we are respected by the government, I have no hesitation in saying there will be mutual good will between all classes of Chinese and English. I therefore believe, that even in opposition to the expressed permission and authority of the Chinese government, a sort of forced trade, both in opium and all descriptions of British manufactures, similar in many respects to the trade which was carried on between England and the Spanish colonies before their independence, may be established and maintained at Fuh Chow-foo, and that in a short

time it would be connived at, and form a source of revenue to the local government on the same footing as the trade at Linting.

But, on the other hand, I feel no hesitation in expressing my conviction, that if it had suited the policy of the British Government and the Honourable Company to have followed up the negotiations undertaken by Lord W. Bentinck to bring the local government of Canton to account for the acts committed in May 1831, and the event of such negotiations led (as they probably would) to collision with the Canton government, and thus placed the English nation in a state of hostility with the Chinese empire, that then every point which could have been desired to establish the commerce between the two nations on a footing equally advantageous and honourable might have been gained in a wonderfully short period, with little expense, and comparatively no loss of life. Had such events occurred, my conviction amounts, in my own mind, to a feeling of certainty, that if four or six Indiamen and one of His Majesty's frigates had entered the port of Fuh Chow-foo, captured the war-junks, proceeded to Mingan, and thence sent the option to the government of friendship or hostility, trade or war, that the freedom of British intercourse would have been established in perpetuity, without any expenditure either of blood or money. The government are too sensible of their own weakness and the very slight hold they possess over the affections of the people ever to risk such an alternative.

I have to request the indulgence of the Honourable Court in offering these opinions, which I fear

will not coincide with those prevalent in England on this subject; but having had the honour to be sent on a mission, the principal object of which was to collect general information, I consider it a point of duty freely to express the opinions which I may have formed, at the same time that I narrate the facts on which they are grounded.

I have little more to add of any importance with with regard to our stay at Fuh Chow. Small sales chiefly of calico were made to various persons at seven and eight dollars per piece, and during the whole period of our stay the ship was daily crowded with visitors, and we made frequent long excursions into the neighbouring country; but I should be guilty of great injustice if I omitted strongly to express my sentiments of the great advantages which have been derived from the services of Mr. Gutzlaff, to which I consider we were greatly indebted for the extraordinary degree of respect and friendship shown to us by all classes of Chinese. Since the first day of our arrival gratuitous medical assistance and medicines were freely given by him to all who applied for them, and during the three weeks we were at this place rarely a day elapsed in which more than 100 patients did not profit by his humane labours. The fame of this circumstance spread far and near, and in some instances attracted persons from the distance of more than 50 miles. In many cases of wounds and cutaneous disorders his practice was very successful, and it was most pleasing to behold the gratitude demonstrated by these poor people for their cure.

Two days before we left Fuh Chow, the following

letter was brought on board the ship one afternoon from a war-junk lying at some distance; a visiting card accompanied it, and the messenger said he would call the following morning for a reply:

"To Captain Hoo, to be opened by his own hands.

"The flowery central nation and your honourable kingdom are far distant from each other, yet within the four seas all mankind are brethren.

"On the arrival of my elder brother's precious ship, we, the hosts, have decidedly been deficient in the offices of friendship; how dare we behave with incivility? Your precious vessel is a merchant ship, which came bringing a cargo therewith to trade, certainly with no intention of injuring our honour and character.

"Previous to the arrival of your precious vessel, express orders had been received from his Excelleney the Governor to guard against her. Wherefore was this precaution adopted? From apprehension lest the populace and fishermen of this mean place, seeing a solitary ship arrive from distant foreign regions, should eagerly and tumultuously approach her and go on board to examine; this to you would be very vexatious, for the people here are a contumacious race, and they would stir up no small strife, and would probably also involve the local mandarins, both civil and military, in its consequences. This precaution was therefore absolutely unavoidable.

"Moreover your honourable nation has also fixed laws and regulations for its ports: when a ship

arrives from foreign parts she is not permitted rightly to enter, but must request permission, and report herself to the King of your honourable nation for his decision. Although the various nations inhabit various portions of the world, yet their laws on these points are not two. Now we rule over the surface of the ocean in this part of the world.

"In consequence of your precious ship having come hither and anchored here for many days, his Excellency the Viceroy has reported it to the Emperor, and is about to deprive us of our rank, honour, and fortune. This, however, is because my destiny fated it to be thus. How dare I harbour resentment?

But my elder brother did not know that by coming here in your precious ship you would implicate our honour. Had you known that it was in your power to dispose of the centre cargo of your precious ship, amounting to 70 or 80 ten thousands of dollars, by injuring our character, we are confident that you would not have come. It may be that some of the crew have heard a vague report that by entering this place you would implicate us; but we fully believe that you, my elder brother, only intended to dispose of your cargo. But this mean territory is sterile, the inhabitants are poor, and the present year has been one of dearth and starvation, so that there is not food sufficient; how then could this large sum of money be raised for the purchase? The sky is now serene, the sea is calm, the wind is favourable, and now is the favourable time for ships to navigate the ocean; if you stay still longer and depart not, we shall incur no slight degree of guilt.

"I feel neither anger or resentment towards you, my elder brother. If I have succeeded in inducing you to make allowances for the circumstances, and to feel a mutual regard for me, then will you comply with my earnest request to set sail and depart; thus we shall be freed from heavy guilt. Communicating this, we pray for your prosperity, and wish that all in your ship may enjoy health."

The writer of the foregoing letter was Chin Ta Laon Yay Toosze, of the Mingan division, and one of the officers who had lost his rank on account of our having entered the river. Coming from such a quarter, it is a singular confession of their weakness; some parts of the letter, however, are sensible and apt, and the general tone of civility with which it is written rendered it incumbent on me to send a corresponding reply, which I did as follows:

"To Chin Ta Laon Yay:

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. The sentiments it expresses are those of a candid and honourable mind; nevertheless, there is some appearance of misapprehension. The English ship came here desirous of trading justly and legally, and it was hoped that both the natives of Fuh Chow and the English merchants might thereby reap advantage; there was not the remotest idea that this could in any way implicate the honour and character of the civil mandarins of your honourable nation. Now that the higher authorities have refused us permission to enter the port, I propose

setting sail within three days. But when I return to my own country, it will be long ere I forget the friendly and hospitable treatment we have experienced at Fuh Chow-foo. I sincerely hope that you will deign to honour my poor ship with a visit previous to my departure, that I may profit by your instructive conversation. Wishing that you may enjoy every prosperity, your younger brother Hoo-hea, &c. pays his respects."

On the 14th May, having taken in all our provisions, we endeavoured to proceed to sea, but were compelled to return on account of the violence of the wind; and on the morning of the 16th, everything being prepared to weigh anchor at the tide turning, a visit was paid to us by the two naval commanders of the squadron of Mingan; one of these was the writer of the letter. The conversation we had with these men appears to me so interesting and curious, that I will offer no apology for inserting the entire note I took of it in my journal immediately after their departure, which may be considered as pretty fairly exhibiting the light in which any further endeavour to force a trade at Fuh Chow will be met by the local government, and the treatment they may expect.

Extract from Journal.

This morning (16th May), just as we were going to breakfast, we received a visit from two military mandarins of rank, one ———, writer of the letter recorded on the 12th; the other ———. The

former was one of the officers degraded on account of our entrance of the river, and now wore a mandarin cap without any distinction; the latter had a blue button. They both held the same rank in the army, viz. of too-sye, equivalent to lieutenant-colonel. Chin began the conversation, by informing me that he was the writer of the letter I had received, and I then expressed the great satisfaction I felt at having made the acquaintance of a man whose sentiments I admired. ——— said, that hearing of our approaching departure he and his friend had come to pay their respects and wish us prosperous winds and a felicitous voyage, and further wished to know at what period we proposed going, when I informed him that we were about to sail that very day. They were both most profuse and earnest in their expressions of thanks and friendship towards us. On my remarking my extreme regret at seeing that Chin had fallen into disgrace on our account, and my hopes that he would speedily be restored to his rank, a very curious conversation ensued, in which both these mandarins gave vent to their irritated feelings in expressions which I confess surprised me not a little. Their resentment, however, appeared not to be levelled against us who had been the immediate cause of their misfortunes, but against the unreasonable conduct of their own superiors. "The Tsung-tap has no reason or justice in his conduct!" exclaimed Chin; "he blames and punishes us because your ship enters the port, without in the least degree considering that we have no means or power of preventing it. Look on our paltry vessels, and compare them with yours, how can we control

you ? besides," added he, " I hear that some of your war-ships have 70 guns; is it true?" " Perfectly so," replied I, " some have 120; but all that we desire is to live in friendship with the people of China; our sole object in coming here is peacefully to conduct a trade which may prove mutually advantageous to the merchants of both nations." On this I pursued the subject at some length, and pointed out the great advantages which would accrue to this port if we enjoyed the privilege of trading here freely. Chin, who was a man of considerable intelligence, entered fully into my view of the question, and expatiated at considerable length to his companion on the topic, particularly alluding to the great increase of revenue which would arise; then suddenly reverting to the topic of his loss of rank, he exclaimed, " How I wish that we had only understood each other when you first arrived as well as we do now ! then none of these unfortunate events would have occurred, and you might have traded unmolested outside of the port; for I am sure your object in coming here was not to injure and destroy our character." I again expressed the regret I felt that such should have been the consequences of our visit to Fuh Chow. Chin now conversed for some time on the subject of the pamphlet on the Ying-kwo, which he had evidently read with much attention. " We have all been mistaken as to the views of your nation, and our rulers consider that your only object is to acquire territory; did they believe that commerce was your only object, so reasonable a wish could never be refused." I replied, by expressing my regret that the great officers of the

empire and the Emperor himself did not concur in his liberal and enlightened views on these important subjects, as nothing could be more easy than for the most perfect friendship to exist between our two nations, but that I feared that the system persevered in at Canton must inevitably produce war and confusion, for the consequences of which, however, the great officers of Canton would be alone to blame. Chin here opened a number of the pamphlet lying on the table, and turning over to the passage relative to the insults and oppression of the Canton government, we conversed for some time on this point. Chin told me, that he positively knew that a full account of us had been sent to Peking, together with a copy of the Ying-kwo and four other works, belonging to Mr. Gutzlaff, of which the Viceroy had requested copies. In the course of the conversation Chin asked me if I intended to return in the following year, to which I replied that in all probability I should. " In that case," said he, " I shall be among the first to come and welcome you, and means will easily be found for you to carry on your trade without implicating any one;" and he again repeated his bitter regret that terms had not at once been offered to us on our arrival which would have obviated the necessity of our entering the port. The conversation turning on Admiral Wan, I heard with some regret that the report of his degradation was unfounded, and I gave an account to my friends of his brutal behaviour during our interview at Hae-tan, of which they had already heard. I remonstrated with Chin against that part of his letter where he says that intercourse with the natives was

refused, lest, from the stubbornness of their dispositions, they should involve us in quarrels, which would implicate the mandarins; and pointing to about a hundred of them before the mainmast, I explained to him the measures we had adopted ever since our arrival for preventing confusion on deck, and appealed to them both whether, during three weeks of unreserved personal intercourse, the slightest cause for apprehension had existed. They both allowed the truth of my remark, and again repeated, "We now know you better than we did before, and feel convinced that nothing need be apprehended." Chin in all his remarks about his own nation exhibited a degree of modesty very rarely met with among Chinese, and he appeared much struck with the superiority of many things, he said, to what they possessed themselves. The prints in some books lying on the table struck him particularly. "Where have we anything like this?" said he to Hen, pointing to the engravings in Cuvier's Natural History. The telescopes, pistols, and several other things also called forth the same remark from him. We showed them all over the ship, both above and below, much to their satisfaction. Shortly previous to their departure I offered a portion of camlet to each as a slight token of friendship, and was rather surprised to see them both politely, but firmly decline receiving it. "We came here," said they, "to pay you a friendly visit, not to seek for presents." On my urging the point that this was a mere trifle, as a specimen of our manufactures, and a token of regard, Hen said, "that we should be happy to accept them, did we not fear we might thereby involve ourselves;

you know well what pe-kea (worthless wretch) Admiral Wan is; did it come to his ears that we had received presents from you, he would do his utmost to turn it to our injury." Seeing that they were in earnest, I did not press the point; but Chin having appeared much pleased with a telescope, I forced him to accept it as a memorial. His friend told him he had better not; but on my persisting, he finally slipped it up his sleeve.

Their visit lasted for nearly three hours, during which we conversed on an infinite variety of topics; Chin, however, always took the lead, and was evidently a man of much more mind than his companion. In these notes which I have kept of it, I can scrupulously assert that all the sentiments contained were uttered, many of them in language much more forcible than I have applied. Mr. Gutzlaff was present and took a share in it the whole time, and assisted me whenever, from my imperfect knowledge of the Chinese language, I was at a loss for an appropriate expression, or the full meaning of what was said. Chin was a stout well-made man, with a pleasing countenance, and the blunt manners of a sailor; his friend was tall and thin, and much inferior to him in all points; nothing, however, could exceed the friendly politeness of their manners. Before they went, they again asked if we positively meant to go to-day; for if you say so, we shall immediately write an official report of it. I replied, that inasmuch as lay in our power it was our full intention to get under-weigh when the tide turned, but that we could not control the winds, and that I recommended them to wait an hour, and then in all

probability they would be enabled to report that we had already gone. We finally parted with the strongest mutual professions of friendship.

On the 17th, we finally quitted Fuh Chow-foo, and after a protracted passage of seven days, on the 25th anchored near the Chusan Islands.

Ning-po.

On the 25th of May we proceeded through the numerous islands of the Chusan Archipelago towards Ning-po. Dalrymple's chart, though it contains a considerable error both in latitude and longitude, gives a very good idea of this part of the coast from the outer islands to Ke-tow, but all between that and Chin-hae is laid down most inaccurately; between Ke-tow and the small round island off it we found soundings with 45 fathoms, where 100 are marked. From that we proceeded with a fine breeze and strong tide inside the islands called the Elephant and Tower, finding no soundings anywhere with 50 fathoms. We wished to anchor for the night close to the southward of a small islet at the eastern extremity of Ta Seay Shan, written in the chart Ty-go-shan, but found no ground with 45 fathoms half a cable's length from the shore; on rounding the point we found anchorage in 20 fathoms. These channels are dangerous, from the rapid currents and want of anchorage. This day, whilst at anchor off Gongphas Island, we were boarded by several mandarins, from two war junks, who had come out of Ting-hae, the capital of the Chusan Islands, to reconnoitre us. I informed them of my intention immediately to

proceed in person to Ning-po, to submit my request for permission to trade to the proper authorities. The two commanders, mandarins with white buttons, were both illiterate men, scarcely able to read their own language. They were attended by a seen-sang, or teacher, who aided them in reading and writing. The questions they put to us were of the most frivolous description; they appeared much astonished and confused at our appearance, particularly at hearing themselves addressed in their own language, and did not attempt any remonstrance against our proceeding. In the course of the evening, I prepared the following short address to the chee-foo of Ning-po, more with the object of gaining a pretence to visit the city in presenting it than with any hope of a satisfactory result.

The English commander, Hoo-Hea-me, presents a respectful petition to the Chee-foo of Ning-po.

An English ship has arrived, laden with camlets, calicoes, woollens and sundry articles, which I am desirous to dispose of in this honourable district. Formerly, during the reign of Kanghe, ships of my nation came here and traded freely; it is my anxious wish that the former mercantile intercourse may be renewed; thus both the honourable merchants of this place and the foreigners will be benefited. We sincerely hope that this may be granted, the more so since the ships of your honourable district annually trade to our colonies, and the laws of my country permit them to do so. I therefore request that your Excellency will examine into the affair, and grant

my petition, for which we shall feel highly grateful.

12th year, 4th moon, 26th day.

The following morning we left the ship in the launch. The entrance to the river was about 20 miles in a westerly direction from the ship. The town of Chin-hae is situated at the mouth of the river, the true name of which is Tahae.* This town, which is the capital of the Heen, is built on a peninsula, formed by the river on one side and the sea on the other, against the inroads of which it is protected by a magnificent stone embankment, extending five or six miles along the coast, which is a flat plane of some extent, and considerably below the high-water mark of the sea. The extreme point of the peninsula is a high hill, on which is built an extensive fort, though, like most others on the coast of China, dismantled and ungarrisoned. On our passing by this town, numerous boats came and spoke us; among others, several filled with low mandarins, who endeavoured to induce us to stop, both by entreaties, and finally by threats; their boats not being able to keep up with us, some of them landed, and running along the banks of the river, tried to induce some large vessels, full of passengers, to stop our progress, but they declined all interference; they then set a troop of boys to pelt us with stones as we were sailing close in-shore to avoid

* Du Halde calls it the Kin, though I cannot find on what authority; and states that there is only 15 feet water over the bar, whereas there is 30 at high water through the western entrance.

the tide, on which I hailed them, threatening to inform the chee-foo of their insolence, and they then checked the boys from throwing any more stones. The breeze fortunately freshening, we stood to the other side of the river, and met with no further impediment. The western banks of the river are flat; the eastern are bounded by a ridge of high and barren-looking hills; at some distance from the banks both sides were fertile and well cultivated, with numerous villages, the inhabitants of which came out in crowds to gaze at us, but not the slightest incivility was anywhere offered.

The town of Ning-po lays about 12 or 14 miles up the river, which runs, for the first few miles, in a south-west and west direction, and then tends towards the north-west; so the town bears about west from the entrance. The river in front of Chin-hae is nearly half a mile wide, with six and seven fathoms water, so as to offer excellent anchorage of any size. The chart made by Captain Rees gives a much better idea of the entrance than can be afforded by description. It will be seen that ships of any burthen can enter at half tide; the only difficulty is in the narrow passage close to Foo Isun (the Crouching Tiger), where, if there was no leading wind, it would probably be prudent to warp about 300 yards. The anchorage between Foo Sun and Yew Shan is not good, owing to violent and irregular eddies.

The town is situated on the western or left side of the river, which here divides into two branches. The walls appear of great extent, and the suburbs cover both sides of the river. We made for the nearest

landing-place, landed amidst a vast crowd, and walked directly into the city, saying we wished to go the che-foo's office. Several instantly undertook to show us the way, and we proceeded through* broad streets lined with handsome shops. I stopped and looked into several, and both Mr. Gutzlaff and myself addressed the crowd, telling them "that we were their ancient friends the English, who formerly traded here and brought great wealth to their town, and that we had now come, hoping to re-establish the ancient custom which had been so beneficial to both of us." I also distributed a few pamphlets and trading papers among the most respectable people. Having walked nearly a mile, we were shown to the che-heen's office, where the astonishment of the official attendants exceeded that shown at Fuh Chow-foo; as usual we were assailed with questions, and I distributed several pamphlets among them, in order to disseminate a little of that information respecting us of which they appeared so desirous. After a short time the che-heen came and spoke to us, but on my saying I wished to deliver my address to the che-foo in person, he with much politeness requested us to follow, and he would conduct us to him. We accordingly did so, and were conducted to a spacious court at a short distance, at the end of which was a hall filled with benches, and large enough to accommodate 2,000 people. This was the Hall of Confucius, where the yearly examination

* Comparatively speaking. The streets of Ning-po are several feet wider, and the shops are handsomer, than in any Chinese town I have seen.

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of candidates for literary honours took place. In a few minutes the che-foo arrived, attended by a numerous cortege, and entered a raised platform at the upper end of the hall. He came forward to the front of it, and I then approached him and delivered my petition, and a copy of the pamphlet, into his hands. The che-foo is an elderly man, with prepossessing manners. He received my petition with a smiling countenance, and having read it, he turned to me and said, "This affair deserves our consideration; I will consult on it with the te-tuh; in the meanwhile you shall stay here for the night, and one of my people shall provide you with everything you require; do not you think this is right?" This last phrase he repeated several times to me in a good-humoured jocular tone, and I replied, that I felt much obliged for the kind reception I had met with, and was delighted to think I had to look up to a mandarin of such an enlightened and liberal mind. The old gentleman appeared in high good humour, and asked us various questions, and then having especially directed one of his attendants to see that nothing was wanting for our comfort and accommodation, he wished us farewell, repeating, "we will consult about your affairs." During this audience there were numerous police people with whips, but they were quite unable to keep out the crowd, who poured into the hall and soon nearly filled it. Several thousands must have been present.

We soon followed our host out of the city; and having crossed the river on a substantial bridge of large boats, we proceeded to our quarters, which was at the public hall of the Fokien merchants. The

injunctions of the che-foo as to our hospitable treatment were amply obeyed, and presented a great contrast with our reception at Fuh Chow-foo. A personal servant of the che-foo, in whose charge we were placed, attended us with the most respectful care, repeatedly requesting us to specify any thing we might wish to have, and it should be procured for us. Our only annoyance was from the endless succession of curious visitors, many of them inferior mandarins, others respectable merchants and shopkeepers, whose questions and curiosity were without end. Every one entreated for a copy of the pamphlet on England, the fame of which spread like wildfire. It was midnight before we could retire to our sleeping apartments.

The following morning several messengers were sent from the che-foo to make inquiries from us on various subjects, principally relative to various parts of the pamphlet on England, which appeared greatly to have excited the attention and curiosity of all. Explanation as to the subjects of grievances complained of at Canton, and regarding our Indian possessions, which we alluded to as nearly bordering on the Chinese empire, were the topics on which most questions were asked, and all the replies which appeared important were taken down in writing. This anxiety for information gave us an opportunity, of which we gladly availed ourselves, of detailing the various commercial grievances and national insults to which we are subject from the local government of Canton. The points we principally urged were the illegal extortion of duties, by which the imperial tariff is in many instances doubled and

quadrupled. The heavy port charges, and other extortions as to compradores, which now bore so severely on ships of a small size as to prevent their entering the river of Canton at all, and had compelled us to come up to Ning-po to seek for more just and equitable treatment. The varied and harassing system of insult and annoyance, which has been for years systematically pursued by the Canton government, and which was so greatly at variance with the kind and benevolent disposition expressed by the Emperor as a guide for the treatment of foreigners. We finally gave them a clear explanation of the outrages committed by the foo-yuen in May, 1831; and when eagerly questioned as to the probable result, we stated it to be uncertain, but that the governor of our Indian empire had already sent ships of war to seek for redress, if possible, by conciliatory measures; and that if refused, it was generally supposed a fleet would be sent to China to demand satisfaction, and to retrieve the honour and national character of our country.

Our lodging was surrounded by a great crowd the whole morning, and when we went out, as well to gratify their curiosity as our own, we were hailed on all sides with the strongest expressions of goodwill, and the satisfaction which the prospect of a renewal of foreign trade excited in their minds. In the forenoon a visit was paid to us by the che-heen, two military mandarins of the third rank, and several of inferior grades. The most marked and flattering attentions were shown to us; a contest of civility took place as to who should occupy the seats of honour, which they insisted on allotting to us as

visitors, to whom they were anxious to show respect. The che-heen was an old infirm man, and spoke very indistinctly; but this was amply compensated by the fluent speech and elegant manners of Ma-talaon Yay, who forms an honourable exception to the generality of military mandarins. This officer, of whom we subsequently saw a great deal, was a Yew-keek, or colonel in the staff of the tetuh. He was a fine handsome-looking man of about 50, with perfectly European features, which was explained by his telling us that his family was from the Cashgar country in Thibet, and not far distant from our own Indian territory. Ma was a Mahommedan, and possessed of much more information on general subjects than is generally met with even among the Chinese literati. After a few complimentary phrases, the che-heen delivered his message from the che-foo as follows: "That as the tetuh was now absent, no decision could be made as to the reply to our request, but that a messenger has been dispatched, requesting his attendance, and that it was the intention of the che-foo, in company with several mandarins, to start for Chin-hae in the afternoon, and that thence they would come and visit our ship, in order to consult on the best mode of representing our request to the Imperial Throne." Many civil messages were added, both as to our country and ourselves personally. Ma now remarked, that both the che-foo and himself had read the pamphlet on England with attention, and that it was his intention to forward it to the Emperor; and he inquired if I had any more copies, as he would feel obliged to me if I would give him one. On this I presented a copy

to each mandarin present, and expressed my extreme satisfaction at the prospect of its being forwarded to Pekin, as it contained nothing but a true statement of our grievances, and also of the power of England, and her anxious wish to maintain and improve her friendly relations with China if it was possible, but that I much feared the conduct of the local government at Canton would thwart those friendly intentions; if so, the blame rested entirely with them. Many inquiries were now made relative to our ship, the drift of which was to ascertain whether she came here on any public mission, or was merely a private trader, what her cargo consisted of, &c.&c. Our conversation lasted more than an hour, but was almost entirely maintained by Ma. Our power and possessions in India, and the disturbances at Canton, were the principal subjects canvassed; and the interest manifested on both these points was very great. The pleasing and intelligent manners of this mandarin rendered our conversation highly agreeable and interesting; and during the whole of it a scrupulous attention was paid to avoid the use of any of those offensive terms implying national superiority, an affected display of which is so common among the Chinese. Having observed that, previous to returning to our ship, I should like to enter the city, and make a few purchases, Ma immediately directed a mandarin, with a white button, and several police attendants, to escort us, and apologised for the inconvenience to which we would be subjected from the boisterous curiosity of the people. I laughed, and said, that we knew their friendly disposition too well to care for such a trifling annoyance, and assured

them that, if their party went shopping about London in their mandarin clothes, they would probably be surrounded by as great a crowd of noisy people as we were. We now arose and separated, all the mandarins accompanying us to a boat which was prepared to take us across the river; and when we pushed off they remained on the beach, bowing to us as long as we remained in sight. This conduct was most striking, as evincing a strong wish, not only to treat us with marked respect, but also to show to the assembled crowd the friendly feelings with which they regarded us. The effect of this was instantly visible, from the demeanour of the police people and others, who addressed us with the respectful term of Sa ㄋ Yay.

We visited several shops in the town in which European woollen manufactures were for sale, the prices of which were much the same as at Fuh Chow-foo. I was anxious to visit some wholesale silk warehouse, but only saw retail shops. Both Mr. Gutzlaff and myself endeavoured to obtain some information as to whether any signs or remnants existed of foreign residences here, but our researches were fruitless, and we had not time or leisure to pursue them. Every one however appeared perfectly well aware that foreigners had traded here a century ago, and that the greatest advantages had been derived to their city from that circumstance. Having walked right across the town, we ascended the ramparts, and from a tower over one of the gates had a good view of the city, which appears very populous, there being no vacant spaces within the walls. The population, as collected from various

sources, I should state at 250,000 to 300,000. The town and suburbs cover fully more than half the space of Canton. The river fronting the town was full of junks, mostly belonging to the province, and a good many from Fokien. The greater part of Fokien junks appear to remain at Chin-hae. I may here mention, as a strong proof of the great effect produced by the circulation of the pamphlet on England, of which we brought up about fifty copies, that on our arrival every one remarked that we were hung-maon, the red bristled people; and several respectable persons, without the slightest intentions of incivility, inquired whether that was not our nation. Our reply to all was the same, that there was no such country, and that it was a vulgar and somewhat rude expression as applied towards foreigners, for that pigs, dogs and cats had maon, bristles, but men had [ ] ton for hair. This information, as far as regards our country, I am convinced was new to many, and before our departure we had the satisfaction of hearing the crowd remarking one to another, Chay she to Ying-kivo-jeu, "These are the Englishmen."

We did not leave Ning-po till it was so late that we could not rejoin our ship, but slept at a mandarin house at a village just outside of the river, where we were hospitably entertained, and the following day returned on board the ship, which had moved to about eight miles from the entrance. Their war junks were lying near her. In the forenoon, Captain Rees having gone in the boats and ascertained that there was safe anchorage about a mile from the town, between the small islands of Footsun and

Yew-shair, the ship moved, and anchored there in the afternoon, and Mr. Gutzlaff and myself then went on shore, and met with the che-huen of Chen-hae, Ma-talaon Yay, and several other mandarins. Ma, in behalf of the other mandarins, now remonstrated with me for having moved the ship, saying that we should have waited till the tetuh and the other great officers had consulted and come to some decision in our affairs, and that he much feared the tetuh would blame those two gentlemen (pointing to the commanders of war junks); that he felt confident it could not be my wish to occasion trouble to any one, therefore they all particularly requested I would move the ship out a little further, and that one of the naval commanders present, who was well acquainted with the coast, would pilot us to a place of security." I was fully prepared to hear objections made to the step I had taken, and had consequently not given the slightest intimation of my intention to move the ship, being deeply impressed with the value of the advice given by one of the most enlightened and sensible men who ever presided over the honourable Company's affairs in China. I allude to Mr. Drummond, who is universally allowed to have possessed a deep and thorough knowledge of the Chinese character, and to have happily combined in his intercourse with them the greatest resolution and firmness with becoming prudence and moderation. The distinguished Russian navigator, Kuisentem, in the account of his voyage, acknowledges in strong terms his deep obligation to Mr. Drummond for the advice and assistance afforded by him in the nego-

tiations they had with the Chinese government.* "It is quite in vain," says he, "to expect that a request will obtain any attention from them. Never in the first instance to ask, but act, and afterwards excuse yourself, is, as Mr. Drummond once assured me, the only mode of proceeding with the Chinese; and I believe that in important political matters this system is still more necessary than in affairs of less consequence." Few persons practically acquainted with the situation of foreigners in China will deny the truth of this position.

In the present instance I therefore informed them that the ship had moved in from an exposed and distant anchorage, as much from a proper feeling of consideration and respect towards the che-foo and other mandarins, who had expressed an intention to honour me with a visit, as for our own safety and convenience, and that as I earnestly hoped for frequent opportunity of friendly communication with them, our being at a convenient distance would greatly facilitate it; and I further assured them it was not my intention to move higher up the river until the great officers had deliberated and come to a decision on our request; and that I had now come on shore for the purpose of paying our respects to the chee-heen of Chin-hae, as we had promised on passing up the river two days ago. This explanation appeared to give satisfaction, at least the point was not insisted on; and the che-hae now made use of the strongest expressions of regret at

* Kuisentem's Quarto Edition, Vol. II. p. 292.

the rudeness which had been shown to us the day we entered, when we were pelted with stones, saying it was an offence which merited the severest punishment. We treated this very lightly, replying that they were merely boys, who never would have thought of such a thing had they not been instigated by one of the laontseangs, who was therefore the only party to blame. No other public business was canvassed in this interview. Ma informed me that the chee-foo had come from Ning-po and was in the town, and that the tetuh was expectedly hourly. The following morning the tetuh arrived with three large junks from the eastward; salutes were fired from all the heights, and as he passed our ship we saluted him with three guns. Many persons, both merchants and mandarins, visited the ship this day, but we had no official communication.

Ma-talaon Yay, with several other mandarins, visited the ship this morning. (30th May), to invite Mr. Gutzlaff and myself to an interview with the tetuh and other great mandarins, in order to discuss our affairs. Both here and at Fuh Chow-foo we might consider ourselves fortunate in having negotiators appointed who were personally agreeable to us. Ma indeed would make a finished courtier in any country, and possesses the talent of pleasing flattery in the highest possible perfection. It was not long however before we discovered that there was more of policy than sincerity in his warm professions of friendship. Mr. Guszlaff, however, during the few days we had been here, had gained a great influence over the mind of one of the naval mandarins, named Sun Sayongay, a Fokien man, who

really looked upon Mr. Gutzlaff as his countryman, who had lived much among foreigners, and learned their customs and sciences, and having received some medical assistance from him, Sun was most anxious to show his gratitude. He was a rare instance of a Chinese mandarin who really appeared inclined to speak the truth, and during our stay we frequently got correct information from him. He had a long private conversation with Mr. Gutzlaff this morning; the purport of which was,—"In the audience going to, you will find several mandarins hostile to you, but do not be frightened out of your intention to trade. The chee-foo, in spite of all his civility, is only anxious for your departure. The tetuh and him have already had a dispute on the subject; he is an honest man, and what he says you may believe. Ma is a man possessed of much influence from his talents, but do not trust him too much, for I fear he may prove too clever for you. You will have to deal with many rogues, especially among the literary mandarins." These were literally his expressions as reported to me by Mr. Gutzlaff.

In the meanwhile I had a long private conversation with Ma, who was very pressing that I would confide in him what our real object and intentions were. I told him that my real and sincere desire was to enter the port and trade, paying all the legal duties. This, Ma said, could not be done without a reference to the Emperor. I replied that I was well aware of that, but that no reason existed why a civil reply should not be sent to my petition, saying that the officer had been favourably reported to the Emperor, and the imperial decision requested on the

subject. The receipt of this would give me the opportunity of writing another petition, thanking the mandarins for their obliging behaviour, and entering a little more at large on the subject; and I could then explain the nature of some of the grievances at Canton which had compelled me to abandon that port, and seek for the liberty of trading elsewhere. In the meanwhile, added I, you can assist me in settling my cargo, which will be a very profitable purchase. Ma listened with great attention to what I said. I will immediately go and report all you have said to the tetuh, excepting about your private arrangements for trade, in that I dare not publicly interfere, but means shall be found to arrange this in a satisfactory way, if you will only move your ship out a little further. I replied, that so soon as my contract will arrange, and the bargain money paid, I would move to wherever the purchaser appointed for the delivery of the cargo. Ma now requested a list of our cargo, which was given him, and the party went on shore.

We followed in a short time, but did not that day see either the tetuh or che-foo; we however had a long conference with the che-heens of Chin-hae and Tinghae (Chusan), who arrived yesterday with the tetuh. The latter we found a proud supercilious Chinese, who hated foreigners, and who showed himself decidedly hostile to our views. In the course of conversation he stated that in former times there was a tea-hong and a silk-hong established for foreign trade, that they had long been discontinued, and that without them it would be difficult for us to carry on our business. On this I remarked, that these

were established to facilitate intercourse when foreigners could not speak the language, but as the case was now different, we could manage our affairs very well without them. On this he produced a paper containing extracts from their records, to prove that no foreign ships had been permitted to trade at Ning-po since the time of Keeo-lang; I rejoined that it was now the anxious wish of my countrymen to renew the former commercial intercourse, and that as their ships frequented our ports, it was reasonable we should be permitted to visit theirs. Wang Ta Saou Yay had already made several ill-humoured remarks, and now positively denied the correctness of my assertion. But on Mr. Gutzlaff's declaring that he had frequently seen Ning-po junks at Singapore, a military mandarin interposed and said, "what the gentleman states is perfectly correct, vessels from Ning-po frequent your country, but they are generally owned by Fokien merchants." Wang looked disconcerted, and held a short consultation with his colleague the che-heen of Chin-hae, which ended by the latter producing an official document, which he gave into my hands, saying, "read that, and then you will see it is impossible for you to trade here."

On casting my eyes over the paper, I at once saw the highly offensive nature of it, and requested to be allowed to keep it; this was objected to, on which Mr. Gutzlaff said he would copy it. The old che-heen, now in considerable agitation, begged that no copy might be taken, as he only meant us to cast our eyes over the paper, and showed much anxiety to regain possession of it. Mr. Gutzlaff, however,

withdrew to a table, and commenced copying the following Edict, while I kept the mandarins in conversation on different subjects.

" Ke-che-che-foo, of Ning-po, sends a document to inform Ophe, Chin-hae-heen, that on the 25th day of the 4th moon, he received a communication from Hei, acting isungtuh-wee, from which it appears that in the present year, during the 3d moon, he received a letter from the admiral of the province of Fokien, enclosing petitions from various districts, stating,

" That there was a barbarian ship at Nanting, which was sauntering over the surface of the ocean to the southward, beyond *Tseen-la-leen.* I, the acting iseeng-heh, ordered the commanders of the cruizers and the mandarins along the coast, both civil and military, to be on their guard and drive her away.

" But the said barbarian vessel went and anchored at Woo-hoo, a district which is under the command of the hee-tae of Mingan. The conduct of the commanders of those camps has been reverently reported to the Emperor, both by myself and the feteh, and Chin-chin-pang. The footseung of Mingan, and Chen-heen-sang, the foosze (or major) of the left division of Mingan, have both been degraded from their rank. The strictest orders have also been issued to drive her away, as is on record.

" On inquiry, it appears that barbarians are naturally fraudulent and crafty, and it is difficult to be protected against them, for *they search about like rats.* Additional orders have therefore been issued to the naval commanders of Mingan, and the mandarins along the coast, both civil and military, that with

redoubled energy they may drive her away. Moreover the strictest injunctions have been circulated, strongly enjoining all the mandarins along the coast to make strict inquiries, and with the utmost vigilance to guard against the said barbarian vessel, which creeps like a rat; let them forthwith trace her, pursue her, drive her away, and not allow her to stay a single moment; let them also prevent traitorous natives from engaging in clandestine intercourse. If any one shows the slightest negligence his name will be reported to the higher authorities, and no forbearance shown. Intensely.

"This paper is accompanied by a document to the said che-heen, directing him speedily to send a circular to all the camps along the coast, that they may make the strictest research, and with redoubled ardour guard against the said barbarian ship, which creeps in like a rat, let her instantly be traced, pursued, expelled, and not allowed to stay one moment, &c. &c.

"12th year, 4th month, 28th day."

Whilst Mr. Gutzlaff was copying this document, the mandarins looked considerably disconcerted, as it evidently was not their intention that a copy of it should pass into our hands. I now expressed, in very plain terms, the feelings which were naturally excited by the unfounded falsehoods and insulting observations contained in it. This paper was evidently produced with the idea that the severity of the language contained in it would alarm us, and render us tractable to their views; but with the insight I had attained into the Chinese character, I

felt convinced that I might turn the edict quite in a contrary way to what they expected. I spoke on the subject with considerable warmth, inveighing against the unvaried system of the higher mandarins of concealing all true facts relative to foreigners; and assured them that the day would arrive when such artifices would no longer avail. The whole party now strongly disclaimed participating in the sentiments contained in the edict, which was from Fokien, not Che-kiang.

Ma, who had been absent the whole conference, now came in, and seeing that something was wrong, asked me what it was; I explained; and he then, with an air of much impatience, said to me, "The blockheads," (or some equivalent term,) "why did they show you that edict; had I been here you never should have seen it;" and he then went to the other end of the room, and spoke with much warmth to the old che-heen, apparently reprimanding him. Ma now exerted himself to restore good humour and harmony, in which we readily joined. He told us the tetuh was unwell, and consequently unable to see us that day, but would give us an audience to-morrow. Our conference this day lasted near two hours, and we conversed on a great variety of subjects. I distributed several of the pamphlets, both to the mandarins and among the respectable shopkeepers, who had come in numbers to the temple in which we met. The ship moved this morning, and anchored outside of the river, about one mile from the entrance, and Captain Rees commenced making a survey of the river and adjacent islands.

In the afternoon I drew up the following address, which I resolved to present in person to the tetuh to-morrow. Some of the expressions in it may appear strong, but let it be borne in mind that we had no trade to risk here at present.

"The English Captain Hoo-Hea-mee presents the following respectful petition to his Excellency the Tetuh of Che-keang province.

"In compliance with your Excellency's invitation, I this day came on shore, in order to consult with the great officers as to whether my ship could be permitted to enter the river, and trade according to law. I regret that I had not the honour of a personal interview with your Excellency, but the great officers assembled submitted a document to my inspection, stating that mine is a barbarian keapan, (barbarian ship), and it is on record that the disposition of barbarians is perverse and fraudulent; that the barbarian ship enters like a rat, seeking for clandestine intercourse with traitorous natives. Now these statements are both insulting to my nation, of which I am but an humble individual; and, moreover, are untrue. The natives of Great Britain are not barbarians, but are a people belonging to a nation which has no superior in the world. The disposition of the natives of Great Britain is not fraudulent and crafty, but is open, bold and enterprising; and it is the maxim of my countrymen to prefer death to disgrace: further, we have not entered the ports like rats, seeking for intercourse with traitorous natives. Rats hide themselves in holes, we

come here in the open face of day, and harbouring no deceit, know no fear. Where have we connected ourselves with traitorous natives?

"I have heard that your Excellency is an honourable and intelligent man; it must therefore be apparent to you, that such insulting language as this must tend to excite hostile feeling between two great nations, whose mutual interest it is to be friends.

"To conclude, my ship has now come, bringing cargo to the amount of 70,000 or 80,000 dollars; this is a matter of but small importance, but if the great officers of this province think fit to represent the true facts to the Imperial Throne, it may perhaps originate a trade, which will yearly amount to many millions. In this light it may therefore be called an affair of great importance. I have the honour to enclose a small pamphlet on the affairs of Great Britain, which I request your Excellency will deign to peruse, and with great respect have the honour to remain, &c. &c."

The following morning (May 31), we had another long conversation with Ma and Sun, who came to conduct us on shore to an audience with the tetuh. We conversed on trade, and Ma was urgent that the ship should move out a little way, and then, he said, my wishes might easily be complied with; to exemplify his meaning clearly, he took a pencil and wrote the following sentence: "If your honourable ship moves outside, the merchants can trade with you, but now the mandarins, both civil and military, are assembled here, and the merchants dare not come out; but so soon as your ship has moved, the mandarins

will go, and the merchants can come. We cannot call them ourselves, because we are mandarins of the Ta-tsing nation and dare not clandestinely break the laws; but we can shut our eyes, and then we shall know nothing about the matter."

To this I replied, that so soon as our bargains were arranged, I would readily move the ship; and Ma promised to see what could be done. I now reverted to the interview with the tetuh, and said that chairs must be provided for Mr. Gutzlaff and myself. Ma replied, "If you are mandarins in your own country, as I fully believe you to be, your request will certainly be granted; if not, our regulations are against it. I myself shall not be seated." I rejoined, "I am no mandarin, but a merchant; it is not on my own account that I insist on this, but for the character of my nation." Ma then said he would mention the subject to the tetuh, who doubtless would comply with my request. Both Ma and several others had frequently asserted that we were mandarins sent on some special mission, and maintained their opinion from the knowledge of the Chinese language we possessed, our Chinese books, (some of which, on statistical topics, were of a description the common people are not allowed to possess), and various other equally conclusive reasons. I always positively denied the imputation, and assured him that when our mandarins did visit their country, it would be in ships of war, not trading vessels. Ma now went on shore, and we shortly followed.

I will here insert the notes I took of our interview, written immediately after my return from it, as it may not be uninteresting to see the treatment which

an English merchant received in a public interview with Chinese mandarins of the highest class. It is curious as compared with the indignities offered to the chief of the British Factory, in an interview with the viceroy of Canton* at his palace, who was seized by his attendants, his sword taken from him by violence, and force used to compel him to prostrate himself to the ground, and perform the ceremony of the ko-tow.

Extract from Journal.

" On our arrival at the town, we were shown into an inner apartment of the temple we had previously been to, where a mandarin with a blue button received us. We waited here for more than an hour; nor did we find the time long, the place being filled with many of the most respectable persons of the town, and of Ning-po, who by favour had obtained the liberty of coming there to see us. We went among them, and delighted them exceedingly by answering their questions. They universally expressed the most earnest wish to be allowed free intercourse with us. At last Ma returned, and informed me the great men were ready to receive us. I inquired if the tetuh would ask us to be seated, to which he replied in the affirmative; and I having formerly informed Ma that taking the hat off, and replacing it, was a form of respect, I was requested to do so, which would be returned by His Excellency folding his hands before him, and bowing his head slightly.

* Canton Consultations. Interview with Viceroy relative to Mr. Flint's case in 1759.

This was all quite satisfactory; so we proceeded to an open green outside the walls, where a tent had been raised. We entered between a double file of soldiers, with numerous officers in full uniform, with bows and arrows: several guns and jinjals were displayed, handsomely decorated with flags, and the whole scene had a very imposing and martial appearance. In the tent were seated the three great men, the tetuh in the centre, tsung-ping-kwan, of Ting-hae, on his right, and the taou-tae on his left, which is the place of honour. I was ushered in between Ma and Ko Talaon-yay, who introduced me by name to the tetuh, and then Mr. Gutzlaff: our salute was returned, both by him and the tsung-ping, in the most friendly manner; but the taou-tae looked black as thunder. We have hitherto, in all our dealings with the mandarins, invariably met with one who took every opportunity to show his enmity and dislike to foreigners. On looking round, I saw no chairs prepared for us, aud immediately mentioned it to Ma. The tetuh overheard me, and said, "If you are mandarins in your own country, I will ask you to be seated; if not, it is contray to the customs of our nation." I replied, "We are not mandarins; but as visitors from a distant country, I expect that this civility will be shown to me." The old tetuh then, in a familiar good-natured tone, said, "What are your customs on this point?" I replied, "In my country, a merchant, if a man of respectability, can be seated in the presence of the highest mandarins. I myself have frequently done so; and I have even been seated in the presence of my sovereign." The tetuh exclaimed, "Bring chairs! you

are mandarins and our friends; pray be seated." I again said, in an audible voice, "We are not mandarins, but merchants." The tajin replied by pointing to the chairs which had been placed on the left hand below the table, on which we accordingly seated ourselves. The tetuh now, after a few complimentary words had been exchanged, stated, "That many years ago there had been a factory at Ning-po belonging to our nation; that this had been discontinued, therefore it could not now at once be re-established." The taou-tae added, "You may trade to Canton, but can by no means be allowed to have any mercantile speculations here." I replied by alluding to the grievances and extortions of Canton, and added my hopes that a favourable representation of the facts would be made by the great officers of this province, which might originate a trade in future years. The tetuh said, "Let your King write a wan-shoo (a public letter) to the Emperor, and it may be arranged." I expressed a hope that such an arrangement might be made, and then rose up and delivered my petition. In this regard I had committed a great error, in letting Ma know of my intentions as to the petition; so that they had already consulted on the point; and the tetuh now firmly, but civilly, declined receiving it, saying that the petition to the che-foo was sufficient, and our case had already been reported to the Emperor. In confirmation of this, the taou-tae produced a document, which was handed to us for our perusal. This was a copy of the tsung-tuh of Fokien's report to the Emperor: it began with an account of certain vessels which had lately arrived;

among others a junk from Soo-choo had been permitted to enter the port, and go up to the city, the natives of that country being submissive and pliable; but that an E. ship having arrived, it was prohibited to proceed, and no intercourse was carried on by natives, except clandestine transactions with fishermen. It blamed us severely for our pride and perverseness in entering the port, and staying, although severe prohibitions had been issued against us. It reported that, finally, we had been driven away, but were still rambling about the ocean. Mention was made of the five books containing the doctrines of Europeans, but unclassical, (one the tui kwo, the other moral and religious tracts), which we were stated to have distributed among the fishermen. Two of the barbarians, Hoo Hea Mee and Kea Le, understood a little of the Han language, and were also able to hoo seay, write coarsely; from their writing it, it appeared that it was an ying-he-le ship; that their cargo consisted of calicoes, camlets, and woollens, which they were not allowed to sell: it ended by referring the whole to the imperial decision. I requested the tetuh to be allowed to take a copy of this document, and he was inclined to permit it, having made a sign to Mr. Gutzlaff to come to the table and write it out; but the taou-tae whispered something in his ear, and he then said that it was against their laws to permit us to take a copy of a paper which was forwarded to the emperor. I now reverted to my petition, which was lying unopened before them, but the tetuh, at the instigation of the taou-tae, again said, that he could by no means receive it, and he took it up and tendered

it back to me. On this, I went to the table, and taking the petition, opened it myself, and laid it before the tetuh, requesting him to read it, and telling him, if it was against their custom to reply to it, I did not wish for any. The tetuh, as I afterwards heard, was rather deficient in his learning, not being very quick either in reading or writing. I suspected as much at the time, for he handed the paper to the taou-tae, who took it reluctantly and read it over to him, all the time looking black as night. Indeed, whenever the old tajin made any civil and obliging remark, he always whispered something in his ear, evidently remonstrating on his civility. After having read the paper, the tetuh again addressed me, disclaiming any connexion with the insulting document alluded to, which came from the tsung-tuh, and added some flattering remarks on our country; I replied, that I never should forget the hospitality which had been shown to us at Ning-po, but added, that as I had received this paper here, I could not avoid expressing my indignation at the falsehoods it contained, and added, "you are said to be a brave and honourable soldier, and must well know that it is difficult to hear one's country insulted without anger." The old tetuh, with a smiling countenance, said, "you are not wrong;" and added, "we have treated you as our friends, because we consider you as such; and even if our two sovereigns were at war, (Leang-wang-ta-chang knocking his fists together to exemplify it,) and you were to come here as our guests, we should treat you in the same way." I expressed my respect for

such liberality of sentiments, and tea was then brought in. Ma and several other military men, with blue buttons, were in attendance, but stood; Ma stood near me, and interpreted whenever the tetuh did not quite catch my meaning; he frequently went and spoke to the three tajins, but in so low a tone that I could not catch the sounds. After tea had been removed, the petition was again reverted to, and the tetuh again said, that he could not receive it. I however positively refused to take it back, and after again thanking the tetuh for the civility he had shown us, we rose, made a bow, and retired. Just as we were pushing off in our boat, I observed that a mandarin, with a glass button, had slipped my petition under the bow; rather angry at this trick, I jumped on shore with it, made my way along the jetty with such speed that several laoń-tseangs, were upset into the mud, greatly to the entertainment of the populace, and ran back to the place of audience, which the tajins had however left, so I laid the petition on the table among several military mandarins, and returned to the boat. It was again brought down, but I would not receive it; and it was finally left in the hands of a gold button mandarin. The audience lasted about half an hour, in which we spoke on several subjects. The tetuh adverted to their apprehension that the people would injure us, which gave me an opportunity of mentioning the friendly treatment we everywhere met with from them, when totally unprotected. The tetuh several times repeated, your king had better send a document to the emperor, and then you may come and trade, the merchants and every one would be

glad to see you. We went away, feeling satisfied that if we had to arrange our affairs with the tetuh, everything would be easily managed; but it was evident that he was under considerable restraint from the presence of the taou-tae, which was confirmed to us afterwards. The tetuh also said that he meant to send us some presents of provisions of various kinds, and I had the bad tact to reply, that I hoped he would receive a few trifling specimens of our English goods in return. He replied, "I dare not; if the emperor were to know I had received any presents from foreigners, I should be degraded."

In the evening we were again visited by our two friends. The conversation principally turned upon trade; and Ma appeared rather anxious to be relieved from the necessity of aiding us, alluding to the danger he would incur if discovered. I also expressed my regret at being obliged to dispose of our goods clandestinely, instead of trading in a legal manner; and Ma then said, "ta-tsing, kwo-ting le-puh-taou," the fixed laws of the Tatsing dynasty are not good; a strong assertion for a mandarin of rank to make; but from the way he proceeded to prove it, no one could contradict his statement. "Only consider," said he, "the system of injustice which is carried on; at Fuh Chow, mandarins were degraded for your entering the river; here it is likely to be the same; if they were to oppose you, and an affray take place, they would be punished more severely. In your last embassy, Ho Kung-yay, Duke Ho, and many other mandarins of the first rank, were punished and degraded for treating your

ambassador with contempt, whereas they only executed their orders." He also uttered a severe philippic against the tortuous policy of the civil mandarins in general, especially the taou-tae and che-foo; he told us that the tetuh and the latter had come to high words on our account, and that the che-foo had returned to Ning-po; and that the tetuh did not dare follow the impulse of his own wishes, which would lead him to come and see us and our ship, and treat us with the greatest kindness. Ma finished by saying, in a jocular way, that he was tired of being a mandarin, and had a great mind to come away with us, and go and see our country. I recommended him to get made ambassador, and sent to London, where he would amuse himself well. A breeze having sprung up, we took him on shore in the launch, and he promised to induce the tetuh to come on board as soon as our mercantile affairs were settled. Ma tried very hard to extract from us that we were sent here on some special mission, and alluded to four other ships which were said to be outside, asking us if they were our friends. This, I have no doubt, was a mere fabrication, or else one of the hundred vague reports which are spread about on shore respecting us.

We were visited this morning (June 1) by two Fokien merchants, who said they came from the capital, and from whose conversation I soon detected that they were sent by our friend Ma. They merely examined our goods, took an accurate account of their prices, and promised to return in a day to arrange about purchases. They made anxious inquiries for opium, and seemed much disappointed,

and very incredulous, when we asserted that we had none. It is a singular fact, and difficult to be accounted for, that they recommended me to enter the river, which they said would greatly facilitate our trade. We this day saw some of our mandarin friends on board; but on landing in the afternoon to take a walk, we met Ma, who inquired if his friends, the merchants, had visited us, and if we had yet arranged our affairs.

On the following morning (June 2) the same merchants returned, and stated it to be their intention to make purchases to some extent; I accordingly tendered to them 500 pieces of camlets, a' $ 40; 100 of broad-cloth, a' $ 40; 50 of supers, a' $ 33; and 1,000 pieces of calico, a' $ 8.5. The appreciation of broad-cloth was most objected to; and both here and at Fuh Chow the merchants objected to its quality, stating that it had deteriorated considerably during the last 10 years. They finally left us without making any conclusive offer. I proposed to receive silk in exchange, and produced musters, which I had brought from Canton, of 410, 390 and 330 $ per pecul, equal to which I informed them I was ready to receive a' 340, 320 and 280 dollars. At these rates they appeared ready to supply them; they made no positive promise, but took musters of the silk with them.

Finding more difficulties thrown in the way of our trade than I anticipated, I determined, if possible, to dispose of the greater portion of our cargo at this place, reserving only enough to ascertain the prices at the other places we might visit. But circumstances, over which we had no control, finally

compelled me to abandon the hope of trading at Ning-po. The causes which in my opinion produced this, I shall now briefly explain. We had now been here for 10 days; and although nothing could exceed the friendly demonstrations of the mandarins, yet we evidently were under much greater restraints, as to free intercourse with the natives, than at Fuh Chow-foo. One cause which contributed to prevent the natives from frequenting our ship was the inconvenient place where we were anchored; whereas at Fuh Chow we were in a general thoroughfare. We had been compelled to quit our anchorage close to the shore from the violent eddies. For the two days we lay there numerous visitors came to us; but since we had moved out, but very few boats approached us; and in spite of our remonstrances, no provisions were brought off. I now used the same argument as at Fuh Chow, namely, that we had a right to insist on free supplies of the necessaries of life, while we were expecting a direct written reply to my petition, which had been promised to us frequently; and I this day (June 4) told Ma, who had called to pay us a visit, that if the people were not freely allowed to bring us supplies, I should certainly enter the port on the morning of the sixth. He argued on the point, endeavouring to induce me to accept supplies as a present, but this I refused. He then promised that my wishes should be fulfilled; and on the following day boats came off both with supplies and visitors, both with mercantile views and from curiosity, and I began to nourish hopes of success in my views of selling our cargo at this place.

The hope of buying opium, however, was the attraction which drew all the merchants to the ship. It was in vain for us to deny our having any, asserting that we came here desiring to trade legally, and therefore could not bring a contraband article: such an argument appeared to them ridiculous; and most of them left us convinced in their mind that a want of confidence in them, or some other cause, prevented our openly confessing the truth that we had come there for the purpose of selling the drug.

Ma, who daily visited us, and with whom we had long conversations, began also to show symptoms of a wish to relieve himself from the necessity of assisting us. His opinion, which he on repeated occasions frankly confessed, was, that we came here, not for trade, but to gain information; and that we were sent on a special mission for that purpose. In order to remove that idea from him, I this day took him down into the hold, and showed him the bales, which he professed to have convinced him, but it was evident that his suspicions remained the same. I was this day remonstrating with him on the illiberal suspicions with which our countrymen were everywhere treated in China, and received this candid reply:—"I will explain it to you. We are afraid of you; you are too clever for us. For instance, no sooner does a ship of yours arrive, than out go your boats in all directions, you sound, you make charts, and in a week know the whole place as well as we do. Now, some Coreans were wrecked in this neighbourhood last year; they were placed under no restraint, but were allowed to go everywhere, and were finally sent home through the

provinces. We do not fear them; they are stupid, they look at all things, but observe nothing." I argued, that though we perhaps had more observation than the Coreans, that it was not with any ulterior views beyond trade, and that our country had no wish to aggrandize itself at the expense of his Emperor. Let him only feel persuaded of that, replied Ma, and permission to trade would readily be granted. In the afternoon several merchants from Ning-po visited the ship, examined our goods, but made no positive offer; they promised to return in a day or two.

This day (June 4th) a trifling dispute occurred between ourselves and the boats from the men-of-war, which, had it been carried further, might have offered a serious interruption to the friendly footing on which we have hitherto been with all parties. In the afternoon, I proceeded with Captain Rees in the long-boat about a mile up the river, with the specific object of ascertaining whether there was water enough for ships to lay at anchor conveniently there. To do this we had to pass a line of about 15 war-junks, which were anchored close to each other right across the river, their object apparently was to prevent our ship from passing them. A considerable degree of jealousy and apprehension had always been manifested whenever any of our boats entered the river and passed beyond the usual landing-place leading to the town, and we consequently rarely went beyond that place, nor should I now, had I not considered it to be an object of some importance to ascertain whether there was good anchorage for large ships higher up. We

accordingly went straight up, and passed the line of junks, although many boats pushed off in all directions to bar our way, but having a fine breeze in our favour, we were enabled to get a-head of them all. We now sailed about a mile a-head of the junks, and the result of this examination proved, that the anchorage here is fully as good as that of Whampoa, the river being nearly half-a-mile in breadth, with seven fathoms on a mud bottom, close to the shore, and eight or nine in the centre. On returning, with a beating wind and fair tide, we found that the boats from the war-junks had mustered very thick, and appeared inclined to offer rudeness to us. One of them, a large heavy boat, with about 20 men, ran her bow right on our beam, and sprung one of our timbers; others came up and clung to our sides with their boat-hooks, in spite of our remonstrances. I attribute this conduct, so different to what it had been on former days, to our having neglected the salutary precaution of carrying arms in the boat, which fact they must have ascertained while two of their boats were alongside of us for a few minutes when entering the river. Seeing, however, that in spite of mine and Mr. Gutzlaff's appeals, no less than 15 or more boats had surrounded us, and some of the sailors and low mandarins appeared inclined to board our boat, it became necessary to take some decided measures to prove that we would not submit to such aggression; we therefore armed ourselves with some sticks and spare tillers which happened to be in the boat, and with them drove away several low tseangs who had forcibly entered our boat; in doing this two

low mandarins with gold buttons were thrown overboard into the water. There appeared now every prospect of a serious affray; several of the boats around us had arms in them, but none were used. On seeing that we were determined to resist any attempt at force on their part, their demeanour suddenly changed, and Ma, with several other mandarins of our acquaintance who were present, and had appeared among the foremost in directing the boats to grapple us, now used their utmost exertions to assuage the tumult, loudly ordering all the boats instantly to depart. I, on our side, aided by Captain Rees, stopped the shower of stones which our Lascars had been liberally distributing in all directions, and quiet was restored. Ma now came, and with his wonted urbanity expressed great regret at the trifling misunderstanding which had taken place, assuring us that not the slightest injury was intended, and endeavoured to lay the blame on the rudeness and awkwardness of the sailors.

I, with some warmth, upbraided him with authorizing such rudeness towards an unarmed boat, assuring them that in future we should be better prepared; but Ma again assured us, in the strongest terms, that he was in no way to blame, and that his only object was to come and speak a few words to me, on which he entered our boat, and whispered in my ear, "Your trading affairs will all be settled in two days," and then he wished us farewell, and we separated.

It is difficult to say what was the distinct object the Chinese had in view by this half and half sort of attack upon us, though had we quietly submitted

to allow ourselves to be taken prisoners, the result might have been very unpleasant. All the officers of the ship, excepting one, were in the boat, which contained in all 16 persons, the ship was therefore left in a very defenceless state. I do not really imagine that any preconcerted plot was formed to obtain possession of our persons and detain us, though some such idea may have suggested itself on ascertaining that our boat was entirely destitute of all weapons of defence. This circumstance of itself plainly shows that we were in no way the aggressors, and in any future allusion to the subject I determined to consider myself the aggrieved party.

It was however highly fortunate that the dispute terminated without any serious consequences, and at the time, I confess I expected that it would materially expedite our commercial arrangements, which I still feel convinced it would have done had not subsequent events, to which we could obtain no distinct clue, disappointed my hopes in this particular.

The following morning (June 5th) Sun and another naval laon-yay came on board, apparently to ascertain in what light we viewed the affair of yesterday; the blame of which we maintained rested entirely with their countrymen. In private conversation Sun told Mr. Gutzlaff that accounts had arrived of the appearance at Macao of a fleet of ten ships of war, but that it was not known what their intentions were. A rumour was also prevalent that four ships were cruizing outside, in the vicinity of Chusan; these were believed to be friends of ours, whose motions were to be guided by our report. This was evidently the

mere creation of their alarmed imaginations ; but there was much more likelihood in the truth of the former report, for at the period we left Macao the arrival of Admiral Owen's squadron in the month of May, was an event anticipated as likely to occur.

In the afternoon the merchants previously sent by Ma visited us, and announced their intention of arranging definitively their purchases. I had met with so many impediments and difficulties in arranging our trade here, which were equally to be expected elsewhere, that I determined if I could, to dispose of all the bulk of our cargo here, merely reserving enough to ascertain the prices at other ports. The first point our merchants mentioned was opium, and they again endeavoured to induce us to confess we had some for sale. Having with difficulty convinced them that we really had none, musters of camlets were examined. Of these they proposed to purchase 500 pieces, for which $34 per piece was first offered. I asked $40 ; but after some discussion the price was fixed at $37½ for 500 pieces.

For broad cloth I could not induce them to make any higher offer than $31 for superfine, and $26 for super, or about 1 *t.* 3 *m.* and 1 *t.* 1 *m.* per yard, which is not more than that obtained at Canton without duties. Much objection was made here, as well as at Fuh Chow, to the quality of the superfine, which was alleged to be much inferior to what was formerly imported. I therefore declined making any sale at this appreciation.

For calicoes, on taking 1,000 pieces, no higher tender was made than $7, which was lower than I

had a fair right to expect here, having received $7. 2. at Fuh Chow.

Long ells were inquired for, but we unfortunately had none; the merchants assured us that they would readily have purchased an assortment of the different colours at $11 per piece.

For cotton and cotton-twist they would make no offer whatever, declaring that the twist No. 40 and 60 was much too fine for the use to which such articles are applied here.

These persons stated themselves to belong to a Fokien establishment at Ning-po, which purchased largely in foreign goods from the junks which trade here from Canton and the straits. They left us, promising to return on the 7th, bringing silks, both raw and manufactured, and also the bargain money of 2,000 dollars. I promised to receive the greater part of the payment in raw silk, if they would supply me with it at reasonable prices.

On going on shore this afternoon (June 6) to the town, we were not a little surprised by being received by a great part of the garrison under arms. Preparations were also making to erect a battery of six guns near the landing-place. On going to the temple we had a long conference with several mandarins, one of whom, the commander of the forces at Chin-hae, Chun Ta Laon Yay, was very angry, and upbraided us on the subject of the affair of the 4th. Two civil mandarins were present, one of whom was introduced to us as Wei Yuen, deputed officer from the foo-yuen, the other as private secretary of the newly arrived Taou-tae; Ma and several others were also present. In reply to the somewhat angry

speech of Chun, in which he had asserted that we were solely to blame in the affray, I replied also with some warmth, that the fact of our being utterly unprovided with arms clearly proved the improbability of our having been the aggressors; that at the time we were assaulted we were quietly returning to our ship; that if one or two boats had come and expressed a wish to speak to us, we would readily have complied; but that, when we saw 12 or 14 large boats violently come and grapple with us, in spite of our remonstrances, we could view it in no other light than as an intentional insult to us, which it was the custom of my countrymen instantly to resent, without regarding the disparity of force. Ma now interfered as pacificator, and the subject was dropped. One of the civil mandarins now informed us that a document would be given to us to-morrow from the taou-tae, which would clearly explain the impossibility of our trading under present circumstances. At my request, I was promised a copy of the viceroy's report to the Emperor, which had been shown to us at the audience, which, I assured the assembled mandarins, I would deliver to my superiors on my return home, together with any document they pleased to address to me.

When the party rose I had a short conversation with Ma, who inquired if his friends had come to see us lately, and if any thing had been arranged; he appeared much pleased when I told him that every point was settled, except bringing the money and delivering the goods.

The following morning (June 7) a naval mandarin brought the promised document from the taou-tae.

The following is a translation. This paper is curious and interesting, as being the first and only one, not even excepting the letter from the Emperor of China to the King of England, in which the offensive and opprobrious term, E. barbarian, is entirely omitted, and yuen-jin, foreigners, substituted in its stead. This I cannot fail attributing, in part, to my address to the tetuh, and also to the frequent conversations we have had with various mandarins, Ma in particular, on the subject. It is also curious as proving that no regulation whatever exists prohibiting the Chinese officers of government from addressing foreigners directly, which at Canton is always refused, and communications to them are merely communicated through the merchants. The document certainly contains more than the customary inflated assumption of Chinese style; but this is comparatively inoffensive when they refrain from insulting others, and merely magnify themselves.

" Fang, by Imperial authority, Taou-tae over the forts of Ning-po, Shou and Tae, hereby issues his orders to the English captain, Hoo Hea-me, that he may inform himself fully thereof.

" Our Celestial Dynasty extends its authority over the four seas, (a classical term denoting the whole earth) and its majesty keeps 10,000 places (all the world) in subjection. The extent of the great Emperor's benevolence is unbounded. In his abundant favour he shows compassion towards foreigners, and permits the said native merchants to trade at Canton, and anchor at Whampoa. The said nation's merchants have there traded profitably

for a long period with mutual tranquillity. But the province of Che-kiang is not the place where they should anchor; for in the 22d year of Kien Lung, the Imperial will was proclaimed everywhere in an edict, which made known to the ships and merchants of all nations that the emporium of trade was permanently fixed at Whampoa, and that they must not again repair to Che-kiang province. Afterwards the English merchants, Hung-jin, (Mr. Flint) We Chow, and others, came to Che-kiang, perhaps on account of violent winds. But the regulations, appointing Canton as the fixed seat of trade, having been previously received, it would have been very difficult (or impossible) to have traded in Che-kiang. When these orders were plainly stated to them, Hung-jin and the others respectfully obeyed, and sailed to Canton. They did not dare to disobey these prohibitions and restrictions. Now you, Hoo Hea-me, have come with one ship, and anchored at the sea of Chin-hae, and have earnestly petitioned for permission to trade.

"Their Excellencies the tetuh, the former taou-tae, and the tsung-ping-kwan, have already issued the most explicit orders; it is reasonable that you should obey the laws, and in conformity with established regulations repair to Canton, and when your commercial affairs are completed, turn your oars and go back to your own country. How can you delay hereabout? this is highly improper. Now I, the taou-tae, having resumed my office, likewise issue my orders to the said merchant, that he may know the laws of the Celestial Dynasty are strictly and unequivocally maintained by the local mandarins;

so soon as they know the will of the Great Emperor, it is impossible for them to oppose prohibitions, or frame new laws. Moreover, no Hong merchants have hitherto been established at Ning-po, we therefore dare not, on our own authority, establish commercial intercourse; but if any traitorous vagabonds league together to mislead you, do not on any account easily believe their words, lest you suffer loss, and derive no profit. Hear now these exhortations, and speedily set sail; you cannot again delay the affair. Our mandarins, civil as well as military, have repeatedly directed and admonished you with persuasive language, thereby imitating the Great Emperor, who cherishes the utmost compassion towards foreigners. These are the commands.

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 3d moon."

Lo Leao-yay, the bearer of this edict, said, that he was directed to assure us that we must give up all hopes of trading here, and that the tetuh most earnestly entreated us speedily to depart. Beginning now to suspect that we had been temporized with and deceived in the hopes and expectations held out to us by Ma and several other mandarins, I shortly told Lo that we should certainly go as soon as we had sold our cargo, as we had been led to expect we should be tacitly permitted to do; but that otherwise, our departure was very uncertain. This intimation appeared to distress him greatly; he assured us, that the tetuh was suffering severely from illness, produced by anxiety on our account; and seeing that I was not inclined to pay much regard to this, he finally degraded himself so far as

to throw himself on his knees, and propose to perform the ceremony of kotow, which he would positively have done had I not prevented him. He also this day hinted on the subject of offering a sum of money by way of gift to induce our departure, which, however, I told him I could on no account think of receiving, whether large or small. Previous to his departure I told him I should reply to the taou-tae's edict to-morrow.

The position in which I now found myself was embarrassing on several accounts. I was well aware of the impossibility of openly maintaining that I would remain and trade at Ning-po, in defiance of the prohibitions of government; yet I considered that some of the mandarins having so far committed themselves as to hold out positive promises that a clandestine trade would be tacitly sanctioned by them, I thought myself in some degree justified to urge, by every means in my power, the fulfilment of the expectations which had been held out to us. Another strong inducement which caused me to use every exertion to dispose of at least a portion of our cargo here was, the knowledge, that if we failed it would be nearly fruitless to hope for success elsewhere, so much interest having been excited by our proceedings here; the report of the failure of our endeavours to trade would follow us to Shang-hae, or whatever place we went to, and would doubtless operate against us. Other causes also made me feel anxious to get over the remainder of our voyage as speedily as possible, in order to return to Macao, where the information we had procured both as to the knowledge of the coast, and what might be still

more important, of the perfect weakness and imbecility of the local governments, and the friendly disposition of the people, would have proved useful had the Admiral with his forces visited China, an event which at the time of our departure I had every reason to expect would happen. On these various accounts I felt desirous to bring our negotiations here to a conclusion as speedily as possible; and in this respect chance in some degree favoured me, by providing a sufficient excuse, and indeed somewhat more, for entering the port, which I had for some time felt desirous of doing, could I find satisfactory cause for the measure.

The place where we had been laying at anchor since the 29th May is perfectly exposed to the northerly winds, having no protection in that quarter. The weather had generally been fine, with light south-east airs, but on the night of the 7th it began to blow hard from north-west, which by the morning of the 8th raised such a heavy swell as to cause the ship to ride very uneasily. On requesting Captain Rees' opinion, he declared that, with the appearance of the weather, and the state of the barometers, it was necessary to remove the ship from her exposed situation; and knowing of no other place of shelter in the vicinity, I directed Captain Rees to enter the river. This was accordingly done before noon, and appears to have created the greatest feeling of alarm on shore; for nothing could divest the mandarins of this place of the idea that some ulterior and hostile motives had brought us to Ning-po. Some time after our entering, Lo Laou Yay, an illiterate stupid man, came on board

in great alarm to inquire the cause of our having entered with a red flag flying, which he said had been considered a signal of war. Numerous salutes were fired among the war-junks, and a large force of military was encamped in tents on shore outside of the city walls. Having explained to Lo the cause of our entrance, which was merely to seek shelter from the tempestuous weather, I delivered to him the following short reply to the taou-tae's edict. I have not thought it would be productive of any good, in the present disposition of the mandarins towards us, to attempt to enter into any argument or further explanation of the causes which brought us to Ning-po, and have merely confined it to a few complimentary expressions.

Reply to the Taou-tae.

"The English captain Hoo-Hea-me, respectfully informs his Excellency the taou-tae of Ning, Chow and Tae, that he has received his commands, for which he feels highly grateful, for the document is written in polite and obliging language; I shall therefore have much satisfaction, on my return home, in communicating it to the mandarins of Great Britain. Moreover I wish to confess how highly indebted I feel to the che-foo and other mandarins, civil as well as military, for the kind and liberal treatment we experienced at Ning-po. Although it appears that this year we cannot be permitted to enter the port and trade, yet we confidently hope that in the ensuing year, when the English merchants revisit your honourable kingdom,

that his Imperial Majesty will permit commercial intercourse to be carried on in a legal manner, and it will then be seen that to just and equitable regulations my countrymen will yield a willing and implicit obedience.

" Taoukwang, 12th year, 3d moon, 10th day."

The following morning (June 8) Lo, accompanied by the private secretary of the taou-tae, came on board; he stated that his master was much pleased with my reply, and had sent him with another document, which I subjoin. The whole tenor of it is peculiarly mild and unassuming; and the promise that the whole case should be reported to the Emperor for his decision, I could not but consider as highly satisfactory.

" Fang, by imperial authority, taou-tae of the districts of Ning-chow and Tae, in the province of Chekiang, in reply to the second petition of the English captain Hoo-Hea-me, states, that whereas the said merchant knows by an edict in polite language which he has received, that he is not permitted to enter the port of Ning-po and trade, he ought forthwith to get under weigh and repair to Canton, trading as is customary. This will be for the mutual benefit both of the mandarins and merchants; he on no account should again delay. Hereafter all the case will be respectfully reported to the Great Emperor, and his decision being made known, will be complied with accordingly. You English merchants act in obedience to the orders of your nation's King, you merchants must obey them

implicitly; (on our part,) without the Imperial permission, it is absolutely impossible to grant your request; according to the saying, 'Whosoever obeys the will of heaven prospers, whosoever disobeys it perishes.' Thus neither party can act according to the dictates of their own will.

"12th year of Taoukwang,
5th month, 11th day."

In the course of this afternoon several war-junks, to the number of 10, arrived, some of which we recognized as having formed part of the squadron at Fuh-chou, so that the fleet now collected amounted to 20 vessels of various sizes. These were all anchored in double line, about a quarter of a mile above where we were lying. They were commanded by a tetuh and a tsung-ping, the two highest grades in the Chinese military service; a constant round of salutes was exchanged during the whole of the evening, both between the junks and the battery on shore. No guns are mounted on the large fort on the hill, excepting one of great length and caliber, with which they generally fired their evening gun at 9 P.M.

The scene which took place on the 10th among the junks was so strange and indeed ludicrous, that I am aware it will not be without some difficulty that any save an eye-witness will fully credit it. During the whole morning of the 10th an unusual degree of bustle and activity prevailed among the war-junks, and to our astonishment we saw them bringing off numerous large spars from the shore, which they commenced fixing with ropes between

each junk, so as in their idea effectually to bar the river; between two of the largest junks, in the centre, a moveable raft was laid, which at will could be hauled across with ropes. What was the cause of this extraordinary and public exhibition of their fears I am really quite at a loss to imagine, for I can positively declare that in my private conversation I never gave the slightest cause to induce a suspicion that we were anything save a peaceful merchant ship, anxiously desirous of selling her cargo, and who had been compelled to come here in hopes of avoiding the heavy exactions of the port of Canton. It is true that on all occasions we freely answered their numerous questions as to the late disturbances at Canton, and expressed our firm belief that means would be taken to enforce a redress of injuries we had suffered. The mandarins in general did not pretend to conceal the alarm they felt on the subject, which we endeavoured to remove by pointing out to them the improbability, even in case of a rupture, of any special hostility being directed against this place, which had never in any way offended or injured our countrymen, and with which we were desirous to cultivate friendship, not to promote ill-will. Nothing however could remove it from their imagination, as we heard from numerous quarters, that we were merely the precursors of an armed force, which were coming to take possession of some part of the country. Whether the warlike demonstrations of defence which were exhibited to us were with a view of inspiring our minds with terror, and from an idea that the communication we should make to our friends of the formidable

defences which were prepared would deter their approach, is a matter of doubt, but I think it not improbable that such was their intention. The effect was however very different, and merely tended to show that they were incapable of offering any efficient resistance to the smallest European force.

During the day I received a very polite message and a present from the tsung-ping, conveyed by a mandarin with a gold button; the present consisted of fruits, fish packed in ice, and poultry. I returned a short note of thanks, and presented a few dozen of sweet wine to his excellency; after some demur on the part of the messenger, and on my saying that I would on no account receive the admiral's present if he rejected mine, this was accepted.

In the afternoon Captain Rees went out in the long-boat to examine the state of defence of the war-junks; on his approaching them, numerous war-boats came to meet him, and beckoned to deter him from proceeding, but none endeavoured to stop him, on which he went straight between the two principal junks, who made every exertion to draw their raft across to prevent his passage, but were too late, and only succeeded in entangling some of their own boats, which were following in the rear. In doing this there certainly was some degree of bravado, which was not strictly justifiable, but which may appear excusable on considering the high degree of absurdity which had lately characterised the conduct of these Chinese. As it was seen on board the admiral's junk when the boat passed that I was not in her, he immediately despatched a mandarin to beg most earnestly that the boat might be recalled,

which was unnecessary, as she had merely gone round the fleet, and was alongside the ship nearly as soon as the messenger. This mandarin, who had frequently been on board, and was rather an intelligent man, on seeing me smile when he delivered his message, and ask what was the cause of these great preparations, exclaimed, "I am not surprised at your laughing; the whole affair is too ridiculous; I feel quite ashamed of it." He also told me that he was specially directed by the tetuh to explain to me that the erection of the battery on shore, and the constant firing and saluting, was not at all on our account, but in honour of their great festival of Kwan-foo-tze, the Chinese Mars, which would occur on the following day.

Since the 5th inst. we had neither seen nor heard anything of the merchants with whom I on that day arranged for the sale of 500 pieces of camlets. Ma also had scrupulously avoided coming to the ship, nor had I met with any opportunity since the 6th to speak with him on the subject. I began therefore clearly to see that we had been deceived by false expectations, which there was every probability would never be realized; and after mature reflection, I came to the conclusion that it would not be desirable on several accounts to protract our stay here much longer. In the course of this evening we had a visit from Sun Laou-yay, in whose sincerity we placed much more faith than any of the other mandarins: he was in very low spirits, and inveighed bitterly against the duplicity of Ma. His only official message was an earnest request from the tetuh that we would speedily depart, as our

longer stay would only implicate them without doing ourselves any good. In this posture of affairs I determined to make one more endeavour, and if that failed, to relinquish the point with a good grace, merely insisting on receiving a free supply of provisions. At the same time I could not help feeling that if we failed in trading here it would be nearly fruitless to hope for better success elsewhere. In pursuance of my present plan, I sent a slip of paper by Sun to the tetuh, requesting that Ma might be appointed to arrange matters with us relative to our quitting the port. On his arrival I resolved at once to offer him a commission of five per cent. on all our sales, if he would forward our views. I had certainly no high opinion of his honesty and veracity, but still, being a clever intriguing character, he was the most likely person to be able to assist us, and the natural mode of inducing him to do so would be by combining his interests in the transaction with ours.

Early the following morning Sun came to say that Ma would be happy to meet us at the temple. I would have preferred seeing him on board; but as he clearly did not wish to come there, Mr. Gutzlaff and myself went on shore, where we met with Ma and several other mandarins. His policy was now quite apparent; he had evidently taken alarm at the notoriety which our proceedings have attracted, and at his being considered in the light of our confidential adviser. He now, in the most pleasing and obliging language, expatiated on the utter impossibility of our being able at present to trade where we were; and I was rather surprised to hear

him, in the presence of several mandarins, one of whom was deputed from the foo-yuen, publicly assure us that had we remained outside at some distance the mandarins would willingly have shut their eyes, and we might have traded freely. He also strongly recommended that we should go to Shang-hae, the wealth of which place he highly extolled. Now if it was contrary to law for a foreign ship to trade to Ning-po, it would be equally so at Shang-hae; but the explanation of this apparent inconsistency is found in the circumstance of that place being in a different province and government, and they consequently feel quite indifferent as to what trouble might be occasioned to the mandarins of it by our visit. This was by no means the only occasion in which the mandarins have publicly recommended us to go and trade in another province; and I have frequently been struck with the total want of nationality, in an extended sense, which is shown by the generality of Chinese: nothing manifested this stronger than the pleasure with which they appear to listen whenever the character of the natives of any other province has been under discussion, especially in regard to Canton, I have uniformly found both mandarins and people readily join in reprobation of the conduct of its local government.

As the point I wished to communicate could not be mentioned in a public audience, I merely remonstrated against permission being refused to the natives supplying us with provisions. To this Ma replied that the tetuh and other mandarins were anxious to give us all the supplies we might want. On this

point a discussion ensued of some length, in which I positively refused to receive anything until the prohibition against free intercourse was removed, and even then unless presents from us were received in return.

Having told Ma that I wished to have a private conversation with him, he invited us as we were going away into an adjoining apartment, where I plainly made the proposition to him as I had intended; and he then candidly said that as the wei-yuens, both of the tsung-tuh and foo-yuen, were now present, the affair had excited too much observation, and he dared not interfere. Ma now made use of every persuasive argument in his power to induce me to receive our supplies gratuitously; and said the mandarins were anxious to compensate us in some degree for the loss we had sustained by delay, and therefore were desirous to add the sum of 600 dollars as a compensation. This proposal appeared to me so singular that I requested him to put it on paper; he accordingly wrote down the following sentences; but when I wished to take the paper away with me, he seized it, and tore it in pieces. The substance of it was as follows:

"We all anxiously desire the establishment of trade with you; but as the established laws at present prohibit it, this point must first be settled between our respective sovereigns. Being your friends and anxious for your welfare, the mandarins regret that you have come from so great a distance without effecting your purpose; and therefore wish to offer you all the provisions you may require, and 600

dollars in addition, to recompense you in some degree for the loss you have sustained."

I now told Ma that I begged he would express my thanks to his superiors for their liberal offer, but that I could not think of accepting even the smallest trifle as a gift, unless some equivalent was received in return, much less money. Ma appeared surprised at my scruples, and inquired my reason; I replied, "Because it would injure the character of my country were one of her merchant ships to appear here in the light of paupers." Ma now alluded to His Majesty's ships in Lord Amherst's embassy receiving supplies gratuitously. "The case is different," I replied; "on that occasion valuable presents were sent by my Sovereign; the gifts were therefore mutual." A long conversation ensued, in which Ma repeatedly expressed the great satisfaction which all parties, both mandarins and merchants, would experience if our respective governments could only agree togegether on the subject of sanctioning the trade at Ning-po.

Feeling now satisfied that no object was likely to be attained by any further delay, I informed Ma of my intention to quit the port, and he at once pledged himself that no impediment should be placed in the way of our freely purchasing all the supplies we wanted in the course of the following day. This pledge was fulfilled, and everything we required was brought on board early the ensuing morning (June 12), by a man to whom we had given a list. Numerous respectable persons also took the opportunity of visiting the ship, some of whom recom-

mended us to remain outside, and promised to come and trade with us. In the afternoon a handsome present of fruits and various sorts of provisions were sent with a polite card from the che-heen. Great objections were made to receiving any return presents, but when I insisted on the point it was yielded; I accompanied them with the following short note:

"The foreign merchant returns his respectful thanks to his honour the che-heen for his valuable presents. I feel ashamed that I have no *precious jewels to offer in return. We all regret that this year we have been unable to trade according to law, but look forward with hope that in the ensuing year we may carry on commercial intercourse with the honourable merchants of this district. I now respectfully present one piece of purple broad cloth, a piece of blue camlet, one dozen of sweet wine and six jars of liqueurs, which I hope you will honour me by accepting."

Early the following morning the tsung-ping, or admiral of the tung-hae, sent similar presents, accompanied by a polite and complimentary message. A reply and adequate present was also sent to him, and received after the customary reluctance had been shown. Ma sent a message to say, that so much suspicion had been excited by his intimacy with us, that he dared not come to bid us farewell. Presents of various descriptions were given to all

* A common Chinese expression.

the mandarins with whom we had been on friendly terms, and we parted with many mutual professions of good-will, and an assurance on our part that we hoped to see them again the following year, when every thing had been settled for the establishment of our trade at Ning-po; in which hope they all professed fully to coincide. Having now concluded my account of our transactions at the port of Ning-po, it is an act of justice to the Chinese, acting on the principle of "audi alteram partem," or hearing both sides of the question, to insert their account of our proceedings, which I have extracted from the Peking Gazette, lately received in Canton. It will be seen that it differs in various particulars, but it is no bad specimen of the mode in which reports of occurrences in distant provinces are reported to the imperial throne.

Extract Peking Gazette, translated by Mr. Lindsay.

"I, the minister Foone-yung-ah (foo-yuen of Che-keang), report to the imperial throne concerning an English barbarian ship which came from Fokien to Che-keang. She has already been expelled and driven out of the ocean. I now request an imperial order, directing that the military officers of the various cruizing camps who neglected to guard against this occurrence may be delivered over to the proper tribunal for trial and punishment; thus awe and respect will be maintained in the government of the ocean. Looking upwards I supplicate his imperial majesty to examine into the affair.

" On the 22d day of the 4th moon I received a document from Wei-yuen-lang, acting viceroy of Fookeen, stating that petitions from various camps and heens announced that an English barbarian ship had arrived at Fokien, and anchored in the seas of Woofoo. I, the viceroy, have already ordered her to be expelled, and now communicate the fact to you, that acting in co-operation we may effectually examine into the case and guard against its re-currence.

" On receiving this, I immediately communicated it to the lyes, that they might forward the account to all the civil and military officers on the coast, directing them with careful heart to examine, and with active exertion to guard their stations; and if by accident they should fall in with the barbarian ship, then with activity to trace her steps, pursue and drive her away: moreover entirely to cut off all traitorous natives from clandestinely associating with and assisting them. No remissness or negligence will be permitted. This is on record.

" Afterwards I received a letter from Foe-heung, tetuh of Chekiang, stating that by various petitions from the military stations the following report had reached him. On the *26th day of the 4th moon, the said barbarian ship, taking advantage of the wind, came from the ocean, and abruptly, without reporting herself, entered the meavon-keang at Ke-tow, and on the *27th day arrived at Chin-hae, wishing to proceed to Ning-po custom-house to sell her cargo. We then directed the military and police

* These dates are all correct.

to go in ships of war and obstruct her progress, on which she returned and anchored off Yew-shan.

" At that period I, the tetuh, in company with Chin-poo-yun, the tsung-ping of Tinghae, happened to be absent with my squadron in the northern ocean, at the distance of 100 le, in order to suppress an insurrection, and to regulate some affairs of the Whang fisheries. But on hearing of this, I immediately by star-light and darkness (*i. e.* travelling by day and night) proceeded to Chin-hae; and in conjunction with the toan and the foo, I ordered the said barbarian ship to be expelled, and with speed to set sail and depart.

" Further, according to inquiries made by the cheheens of Chin-hae and other places, it was ascertained that in the said barbarian ship there were 70 men, and the cargo she brought consisted of calicoes, broad cloths, camlets, and such goods; and the said barbarians presented a barbarian book in one volume, which had been formerly printed. Moreover a barbarian man, named Hoo-Hea-me, presented a public petition to the che-foo, in which with importunate urgency he groaned* forth his entreaties for permission to trade. These documents were forwarded to me (the fooyuen) for a thorough investigation and decision.

" I have carefully examined the barbarian book; it is entitled 'An Essay on the Affairs' (the words 'of Great Britain' are omitted). Some parts of it are highly rebellious and full of falsehoods, many

* The meaning of this character is a person groaning in an extremity of distress.

other parts are perfectly unintelligible. The general purport of it is complaining that commerce was not conducted with justice at Canton; and on this pretext they desired to abandon that place and come to this, thus manifesting a highly perverse and crafty disposition. But since the reign of Kien Sung these barbarians have not been permitted to come and trade in Che-keang; yet now, the south wind blowing, they have taken advantage of the favourable breeze and have sailed to Che-keang, covetously hoping to obtain profit. How could I in the smallest degree permit any change in opposition to the fixed laws?

"I then issued a perspicuous order to the taou and foo not to permit the barbarian ship to trade. I also wrote to the tetuh and tsung-ping that they might order all the military officers to cruise and guard. Moreover I deputed Tang-fun-tsang-tseang, on my staff, and Sihip-tung-tuh-tungche of Tae-chow-foo, to go with the utmost speed to Chin-hae, and, acting in conjunction with the taou and foo, rigorously to prohibit the natives from holding any intercourse with her; and at the same time directing that the forces of the tetuh and tsung-ping should instantly expel the said barbarian ship, and cause her with precipitate speed to quit the frontier, and not allow her to loiter.

"I have now received a letter from the tetuh, saying that he had clearly communicated his orders to the said barbarian, and that he was in some small degree aroused to a feeling of repentance, and no longer dared to delay and loiter; but the winds having been contrary for many successive days, he was

unable to sail away. On the 15th of the 5th moon the wind being more favourable, the tetuh, in conjunction with the tsung-ping, ordered the cruizers to expel the ship directly. The said barbarian ship then spread her sails and went forth into the ocean. The tsung-ping then led out his squadron, pursued her, and compelled her on that very day to quit the frontier. Moreover the tetuh forwarded a list of the various officers whose negligence merits trial and dismissal.

"Now I, the fooyuen, on examining, find that there is an easy access from that place to Tien-sin and the coast of Keang-soo. It is impossible to say that this barbarian ship, though expelled from this, may not sneak in like a rat elsewhere. I have therefore sent a flying despatch to the various tsung-tuhs and fooyuens of Keangsoo, Shansung, and Chih-le, that they may cause a careful watch to be kept to prevent the ship from entering.

"Moreover the show-peis Sunting-goan and Tang-lun, and the tseen-tsung Sunting-kaou, were appointed to cruise and guard the stations of Ketow, Meaon, Keang, and Yew-shan. At the time the barbarian ship abruptly entered, it is true that the tseen-tsung, Sunting-kaou, was absent in the southern sea, cruising against pirates; but still, in conjunction with his colleages, he has shown himself unable to anticipate affairs and use precautionary measures to guard his post; he is therefore equally guilty of remissness. It is consequently proper to request the imperial order to deliver over these three officers to the tribunal for trial and punishment, in order to maintain dignity in the government of the ocean.

"Now I, the foo-yuen, respectfully joining with the minister Wei-yuen-lang, acting tsung-tuh of Fokien, and the minister Tae-hung, tetuh of Che-keang, write this report; and moreover forward the barbarian book to the keun-ke (the privy council), that it may be respectfully had before the imperial throne, requesting his imperial majesty to examine the affair.—The imperial commands have been received, saying, 'it is recorded.'

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 6th moon,
20th day (17th July, 1832.)"

We left the Ning-po river at noon on the 13th of June, and stood across to the island of Kiu-tang, where we anchored in a safe habour, formed between it and the small island of Taou-tsze-shan, which had been previously surveyed by Captain Rees. Strong northerly winds kept us here until the morning of the 17th. On the 15th a party from the ship took a long excursion over the island of Kiu tang, which is about 12 miles in length, by six or seven in breadth, thickly populated, and in the highest state of cultivation. The people manifested the greatest satisfaction at seeing us among them; and on the following day many respectable persons, with whom we had made acquaintance, visited the ship, and some made small purchases of broad cloth and calicoes. The only vessels of war that accompanied us were two small boats, which anchored about a mile distant, and no molestation was offered by them to the numerous boats that came off to the ship.

On subsequent reflection, since our departure from Ning-po, I am inclined to think that if the mere dis-

posal of our cargo had been the sole object in view, it would in all probability have been attained by following the repeated advice given us by the mandarins to remain outside among the islands. Chin-hae, as I have before observed, does not offer those facilities for carrying on an unauthorized trade which the river of Fuh Chow-foo affords. While laying in the river opposite Chin-hae, everything which passed was necessarily under the eyes of all the parties whom our arrival had drawn together there, each of whom was a spy on the actions of the other, and thus none dared come forward to assist in a transaction where exposure might have been attended with severe penalties.

What confirms me in the supposition that had we remained among the islands greater facilities would have existed for trading, is the fact that not long after our departure a small brig, the Danesborg, of only 90 tons, of which Mr. Innes was supracargo, came and anchored in the very spot we had lately left, near Kiu-tang, remained there nearly three weeks, and carried on a trade in opium and English manufactures to some extent. Numerous war-junks came and anchored near her, but the communication was of the most friendly nature, the commanders of the junks both buying opium themselves and facilitating the disposal of it to others; a strong proof that, unless when publicly forced on their notice, the government officers will in general afford a tacit connivance to the visits of foreign ships, particularly when they bring opium. My opinion concerning the feasibility of establishing a trade at this place, for the disposal of British manufactures and opium,

is therefore nearly the same as it was at Fuh Chow-foo. The government will not sanction it, and will fulminate edicts ordering all foreign ships to be expelled; but at the same time, if tact is shown, by properly combining moderation and kindness to conciliate the affections of the people, and spirit to deter the mandarins from offering molestation, an outlet for British manufactures, to a very considerable extent, may gradually be formed here; and the way for a more extended intercourse with this vast and extraordinary nation, comprising near 400,000,000 of enterprising and intelligent human beings, will thus be gradually paved.

The singular inaccuracy exhibited in the knowledge of this part of the coast of China, as exemplified both in the English and the missionary charts, surprised us much, particularly when it is borne in mind that the English enjoyed the privilege of trading at Ning-po for a period of many years, till 1759; yet in Dalrymple's chart, which professes to give a survey of the Chusan Archipelago, the town of Chin-hae is laid down in lat. 30°. 18′. N., long. 121°. 7′. E.; whereas the result of repeated observations by Captain Rees, the accuracy of which was fully confirmed by subsequent observation and comparisons, gave 29°. 54′. N. lat., and 121°. 52.30′. E. long. The missionary charts lay down Chin-hae in lat. 33°. 5′. N., long. 121°. 6′. E. In most instances, where the places in their survey of China are laid down from the result of actual observation, the correctness is great; but they do not sufficiently distinguish what is merely stated from report, and thus may frequently mislead.

The river Ta-hea is of inconsiderable size; its only importance is derived from its excellent harbour, and its leading to the great commercial city of Ning-po. It would appear that the depth of water over the bar of this river has increased considerably during the last century; for not only does Du Halde in speaking of it say, "The entrance into Ning-po is difficult, especially for large vessels, there being but 15 feet water over the bar in the highest tides;" but a clearer proof of its not having been practicable for ships of deep burthen to enter, is found in an extract from the consultations of the Company's factory at at Ning-po, in a letter from Messrs. Fitzhugh, Flint and Torin, to the supracargoes at Canton, dated 25th January, 1757, in which they complain of the inconvenience of having their factory at Ning-po, while their ships were compelled to remain at Chusan, and the goods frequently sustained much damage and pilferage from being exposed six or eight days in the boats. To remedy this they directed the captains to see if it were possible for the ships to enter the river, and they gave as their opinion, "that it was next to impossible;" the idea was consequently abandoned. A considerable change must therefore have taken place between that period and our visit; for at present ships of any draught may with perfect ease and safety both enter and quit the river. The Ta-hea rises about sixty miles inland, and is not navigable above Ning-po; it is the eastern of the three rivers called San-keang, which disembogue themselves into the gulph of Chekeang.

The great river Chekeang, which gives its name

to the province, is otherwise called Tseen-tang-keang, is not of great commercial importance. Hang-chow-foo, the capital of the province, is situated on the banks of this river, about 100 miles above Chin-hae; but from what I heard it is not a place of great trade, excepting inland, most of the commerce in sea-going junks being conducted at Ning-po and Chafoo, a town situated on the northern side of the bay, and which enjoys the monopoly of the Japan trade.

On the morning of the 17th the weather, which for some days past had been thick and boisterous, cleared up, and we proceeded towards Shanghae, passing inside of the Chusan Archipelago, a passage which I believe had never yet been made by any European ship; we accordingly named it the Amherst's passage. The set of the tide runs north-east and south-west, right out of the large estuary of Chekeang, which does not appear to discharge a powerful stream into the ocean; the sea being quite salt at low water, but of a thick muddy colour. The depth of water varies from six to eight fathoms, with a soft mud bottom. In the evening, the wind falling calm, we anchored in seven fathoms; the northernmost of the Chusan islands bearing N. 40 E.; a group of islands to the west, bearing from N. 40 to 55 W.

The following day (June 18) we were considerably baffled by light winds and contrary tides, which drifted us near to the northern group of the Chusan islands. These are bold and rocky, the smaller ones having barely a blade of grass on them, offering a great contrast to the verdure and beauty of the southern

islands. Few of them showed any signs of cultivation. At one P. M., the northern of the Chusan Islands bearing N. 85 E., a sand-bank was seen from the poop, the extremes of which bore N. by W. to N. W. ½ N. We now stood north-east, and the water gradually shoaled to 6, 5 ½, 5 and 4 ½ fathoms, in which water we came to an anchor, the northern of the Chusan group, a small round islet, bearing S. 8 E.

Our situation was now noways agreeable; nearly out of sight of land, in an open exposed sea, with little more than four fathoms water, and apparently surrounded with shoals and sand-banks. Mr. Gutzlaff and myself accordingly went in a boat to endeavour to procure a pilot from one of the numerous fishing-boats around us. Most of them are Fokien vessels of 100 to 150 tons, and carry 20 or 30 men. The first we boarded, the people were surly, and would give us no information; in the next we were more fortunate. Their boat having anchored, several came on board our ship, bringing fish, but no offers would induce any of them to pilot the ship into Shanghae. This was evidently from fear of the mandarins; for though they all declared that no sum would tempt them to accompany us, yet one of them readily gave the following directions, to which we at the time paid not much attention, having so frequently received incorrect accounts from fishermen; but we eventually found them so accurate, that future nrvigators in these seas cannot do better than observe them: "Take your departure from the northern island (which we named Gutzlaff's Island), and steer N. W. by N.; you will never have less water than

four fathoms; and when you approach the channel between Tsung-ming and Keangnam, the water will gradually deepen to five and six fathoms."

On the following morning we saw two large junks steering exactly in the course the fisherman had pointed out to us; we therefore immediately weighed, and shaped our course under easy sail in their wake, sending the long-boat a-head to sound. The depth continued regular at 4 and 4½ fathoms, on a soft mud bottom; at eight, the wind falling calm, we were compelled to anchor for the tide. Weighed again at 10, and steered north-west; at 11 set the following bearings: Gutzlaff Island just in sight from poop, S. 13 E.; small island, which we named Jauncey's Island, from one of the officers of the ship who first observed it, N. by E.

Lat. at noon by obs. 31.08 N.

At one P. M. we saw low land on the starboard bow, which was one of the low islands to the southward of Tsung-ming, and the tops of the trees on the mainland of Keangnam were soon after descried. We continued under easy sail, following in the rear of the two junks, and now steered west by north; the water gradually deepened as we advanced to six, seven, and eight fathoms. We now sailed at about four miles distance from the land of Keangnam, which is one dead flat, richly cultivated and covered with high trees. The water was perfectly fresh from the time when we first saw land. At four P. M. we saw several war-junks, six in number, at anchor. On our approach, they got under-weigh, and one hoisted an admiral's flag and stood across our bow, firing several guns; but as we now set more sail and stood

on, the fleet stood in to shore, manœuvred in such a way as to allow us to pass by them at a considerable distance, and then stood on in our wake, firing guns occasionally, while one large row-boat pushed on a-head towards Shanghae. At five P. M. we passed an extensive bank to the northward, and now steered to north-west. To the north of this bank there appears to be a passage, for we saw many junks sailing up on that side. We now had a fine breeze, with which we stood on till 8.30 P. M. On passing one of the junks we had been following, we inquired what distance there was to the entrance of the river, which was stated to be about eight miles distant.

Transactions at Shanghae, in Keang-soo.

Having now (June 20) arrived to within a few miles of the entrance to the river, I determined not to lose time by waiting for the ship, but to proceed at once in our boat to the town, and in person present the following petition, from which, however, I felt but small hopes of any success.

" The English Captain Hoo-Hea-me respectfully petitions his Excellency the Taoutae of the districts of Soo, Sung, and Tae, for the information of his superiors.

" An English ship has arrived and entered the port, desiring to trade. Her cargo consists of cloths, camlets, calicoes, and sundries. In former times, the commercial intercourse between China and Great Britain was small and unimportant; but within the last fifty years it has increased tenfold: thereby

great advantages are derived by both nations. Formerly, only eight or ten small ships arrived; but now from sixty to eighty large ships come to China, bringing the productions of my country, and take in return no less than 30,000,000 catties of tea, besides silk and other productions of the Chinese empire, to the value of many millions of dollars. Moreover, the ships of your honourable nation, some of which belong to Shang-hae-heen, yearly frequent the ports subject to Great Britain, and your merchants thus obtain large profits. The merchants of my country seeing this, naturally remember that benefits and advantages should be mutual, and therefore earnestly desire to participate in the profits which may be derived from a trade with the northern ports of China. If your merchants purchase English commodities directly from us, and we in return receive the silks and teas of this honourable province, both parties will reap mutual benefit, industry be encouraged, the Imperial duties will be greatly increased, and it will tend to promote and increase a friendly intercourse between two great nations, whose mutual interest it is to be bound by the strictest ties of friendship, which is really an important consideration.

"I therefore now respectfully petition your Excellency favourably to represent my request to the superior authorities. Thus a trade may be originated between this honourable province and my country, which, though small at first, will rapidly become large, and thus open the road to the acquisition of great and important advantages.

"Taou-Kwang, 12th year, 5th moon, 12th day."

At three on the following morning we started, and reached the entrance of the river just at the first dawn of day: it was about eight miles distant. At each side of the entrance there is a fort: the northern one was in better condition than most Chinese fortresses, and mounted eight guns on a platform. As soon as we were discovered, they commenced firing blank guns from both sides, to which we paid no attention; and having a strong tide in our favour, were soon carried beyond their batteries. About a mile inside the river is the small town of Woosung, where all vessels, on entering and quitting, take their port clearance: several boats with mandarins pushed off from thence to meet us, and forbid our further progress, saying they were ordered to prevent our going to Shanghae, by which it appeared that our presence was not unexpected; but I merely said, that having business to transact, and a petition to present, it was necessary we should go thither. The river now taking a sharp turn to the south-east, enabled us to sail away with a fair wind, and we soon distanced all the mandarins. The river Woosung, for it gives its name to the village at its mouth, is in every respect one of the finest and most navigable in China. The only difficulties in its access arise from the extensive but even bank of shallow water, which extends between Gutzlaff's Island and the banks of Tsung-ming, from which there is a passage three to four miles in breadth and eight fathoms deep to the river Woosung. The bar of the river presents no dangers whatever, as will be apparent from Captain Rees's chart, and the guides for entering are extremely simple. "Let the north fort

be brought to bear S. 26 W.; then steer direct for it: as you approach the bank of the river, the water deepens from four to six fathoms."

At low-water there will always be found four fathoms over the bar, which is but a quarter of a mile in extent, and as soon as that is passed, the water deepens to eleven fathoms, gradually shoaling to seven and eight as you approach the village of Woosung.

The river, for the first six or eight miles, runs in a south and south-east direction; after leaving Woosung, the depth varies from eight to three fathoms, and the stream is about three quarters of a mile wide. The country is one dead flat, very much intersected with dykes and ditches: it is rich cultivated, and bears much resemblance to Holland. The tide turning against us when about eight miles up the river, we anchored and went on shore. It was just the period of the wheat harvest, and the whole population were actively employed gathering it in. The land appears divided into small portions, for we observed at each cottage the women and children were employed thrashing and winnowing their portion of wheat as it was brought in. A great deal of cotton was also cultivated, this being the most celebrated district in China for that commodity. Shortly after we had returned to our boat, some Chinese came off to us from a junk in the vicinity, and entered into conversation. In reply to our inquiries, some of them said they had lately come from Canton. Our anxiety to obtain intelligence from that quarter was great, and it was our object to do it in a way that would not excite their sus-

picions. We therefore, in the first place, put some indifferent questions as to their cargo, and the profits to be derived on it; and then asked, in a casual way, if there were many English ships in the river. They replied, "None." We asked, "How comes that?" on which one man promptly replied, "Oh, they are all gone to Tiensin with the admiral." We then began to question them as to the cause of this extraordinary move, and if any disturbance had taken place, when they drew off, and would give us no further information; and shortly after left us, saying that it was mere report they had heard, as none of them had been to Canton lately. This story so singularly coinciding with the rumours we had heard at Ning-po, and with the expectations we had formed as to the probable course of affairs, I confess strongly induced me to believe in its correctness; and although it proved utterly devoid of foundation, yet it is curious, as demonstrating the intense degree of interest which the anticipation of such an event as the arrival of an English squadron with hostile intentions had excited among all classes of Chinese, and in all parts of the empire.

So soon as the tide turned we proceeded on our journey, and at about half-past four, reached the far famed emporium of Shanghae; the vast number of junks of every variety both of size and description which were lying before it, plainly proved that fame had not magnified its commercial importance I will here insert verbatim from my journal the account of our first interview with the mandarins of Shanghae:

Extract from Journal.

" The town of Shanghae is built on the left side of the river, as indeed is every Chinese town I have yet visited, which must probably be connected with the Chinese custom of assigning the left as the place of honour. Commodious wharfs and large warehouses occupy the banks of the river, which is deep enough to allow junks to come and unload alongside of them; in the middle it has from six to eight fathoms, and is nearly half a mile in breadth. All the wharfs were crowded with people, who were attracted by our appearance. We landed in front of a large temple, dedicated to the Queen of Heaven, where we were subsequently lodged. The crowd opened right and left to give us free admission, and we walked through it into the temple, where a theatrical performance was going on, which our appearance immediately stopped, as every one's attention was turned to us. I asked the way to the city and the taoutae's office, and we proceeded at a rapid pace in the direction indicated. We entered through the city gates, about a quarter of a mile distant; the streets are narrow, and many of them paved with small tiles similar to Dutch clinkers, which give a far more agreeable footing than the slippery granite. The shops within the city are generally small, but wares of every description were exhibited in them for sale. I saw many with European goods. Having proceeded about half a mile, our guides showed us the office of the cheheen, which I declined entering, as our business was with the taoutae, and we again

started in search of him, with an enormous crowd following us. Before we had gone far we met with a young man, who told us he belonged to the taoutae's office, but that his master had already gone down to Woosung to meet with us, and that we had therefore better immediately return. Not placing much credit in this information, I continued my course, the people readily pointing out the way, and arrived at the taoutae's office, which is an extensive building. As we approached, the lictors hastily tried to shut the doors, and we were only just in time to prevent it, and pushing them back, entered the outer court of the office. Here we found numerous low police people, but no decent persons, and the three doors leading to the interior were shut and barred as we entered. After waiting a few minutes, and repeatedly knocking at the door, seeing no symptoms of their being opened, Mr. Simpson and Mr. Stephens settled the point by two vigorous charges at the centre gate with their shoulders, which shook them off their hinges, and brought them down with a great clatter, and we made our entrance into the great hall of justice, at the further extremity of which was the state chair and table of the taoutae. Here were numerous official assistants, who seeing us thus unexpectedly among them, forgot totally our unceremonious mode of obtaining entrance, and received us with great politeness, inviting us to sit down and take tea and pipes. Having remained a short time talking with them, particularly with the young man who had told us the taoutae had gone to Woosung, who was one of his secretaries, and possessed of intelligent pleasing manners,

we were informed of the arrival of the cheheen, who wished to speak to us. He entered immediately, and refusing to be seated, commenced in a loud angry tone, upbraiding us for our temerity in coming to Shanghae without previously obtaining permission. He was a stout middle-aged man, with a harsh unpleasing countenance, and boisterous manners; his name is Wanlun-chan; he is a native of Kwer Chow. I replied in a tone equally haughty, but not quite so loud, that we came here to trade, and that I brought a petition to the taoutae. His answer was, "You cannot trade here, you must go to Canton." I repeated the arguments I had so often used relative to the present state of the trade at Canton. The cheheen now called for an interpreter, and I fully expected to see some fellow produced who could speak a few words of the Canton-English, to which I had determined to reply in Chinese, that I could not understand a word of it; but instead of that, a man from Chaow Chow-foo, in Canton province, came, who knew not one word of any European language, nor even of the Canton dialect, that spoken in his district being nearly the same as the Fokien. He however spoke the mandarin dialect far more distinctly than the cheheen, and also showed much quickness in catching my meaning when my expressions were not in correct Chinese. The cheheen now sat down, and I instantly seated myself opposite to him, on which he again rose, and casting an angry glance at me, strode out of the room without vouchsafing a word, as if he considered himself degraded by seeing me seated in his presence. So soon as he had gone, the attendants.

brought tea, and tried to apologize for his rudeness.

" After a little he again requested to speak to us, and stated that the taoutae (who had returned very speedily from Woosung) would give us an audience at the Teenhow Temple, to which we must instantly repair. We told him we would comply with his directions, and bid him farewell with the usual Chinese salutation, to which he made no return whatever; on which I said in a loud tone, " in my country the Government officers are civil to strangers; you, it appears, act differently, and return the courtesy of strangers with rudeness; but still, in order to show to you and all the present company that we understand the rules of propriety and decorum, we again salute you before we depart, on which Mr. Gutzlaff and myself, with the utmost politeness, performed the ceremony of tso-yih, bowing moderately low with the hands joined, which is the utmost that is in use amongst equals. The cheheen coloured to the very tips of his ears with vexation; but seeing that all the spectators enjoyed his mortification, he returned our salute, though with a very bad grace, and we went away, returning through the same gates we had entered, and were shown to an inner court of the temple, where we had first landed, which we were informed was to be our lodging for the night. Round the court were three spacious apartments, the left one was assigned to us; and the centre was prepared for the taoutae, who shortly arrived with a large retinue of mandarins and lictors, with chairs and whips. About a quarter of an hour after his arrival I was told to come in and present

my petition; but I first sent to say that I expected to find chairs for Mr. Gutzlaff and myself if the taoutae and the other mandarins were seated. In reply, this was stated to be impossible, as their customs required a merchant to prostrate himself before a mandarin of the rank of the taoutae, yet that we were only required to stand; but that if I was a mandarin in my own country, and the business I had to communicate was of a public nature, then we might be seated. I replied, "I am no mandarin; but my petition, if favourably received, and the request it contains is complied with, it may be called of a public nature; and it is not on my account I object to stand in the presence of your mandarins so much as on account of the high respectability of my country. I have also been seated at Ning-pò in the presence of men higher in rank than the taoutae; my reply, therefore, is, if the mandarins are seated we must sit; if they stand we will also stand." No less than half an hour was lost in debating this point, and it was finally arranged that the taoutae should stand to receive us, and we were then ushered into the hall, where six mandarins were seated in a semi-circle; I approached; but seeing no symptoms of any of them rising to receive me, I abruptly turned on my heel and returned to our apartment, where I rather warmly expressed my indignation at the paltry artifice which had been played on us. Our interpreter, the secretary, and several mandarins tried to soothe us with soft words, and on a positive promise that no such trick would again be played, I once more returned. Immediately on perceiving me the taoutae rose and came forward; his name is Wooke-

Tae, he is a native of Honan, a heavy dull-looking man, much marked with the small-pox. I delivered my petition into his hands, but without listening to a word I had to say, he in a boisterous tone upbraided us nearly in the same terms as the cheheen, who was one of the present company, and said we must instantly return to Canton, and not stay here a day. I replied, "The trade of Canton is ruined by the oppression of the local government; your vessels frequent our ports, therefore we have come here; for the rest our sentiments are contained in the petition I have delivered, read it, and you will understand." He replied, with increasing warmth, "If the Shanghae vessels frequent your ports, let your Government drive them away, they are not sanctioned by ours in so doing." I replied, "instead of driving them away, our Government encourages them to come, and treats all strangers with kindness; we have, therefore, a natural right to expect the same at your hands." The taoutae evidently had prepared to brow-beat us with fierce looks and angry words, but I repaid them both; and in reply to some very uncivil expression, I said, "your excellency will find that my countrymen are equally ready to repay civility or insult." We now returned to our apartment, which was crowded with mandarins and attendants of various sorts. After the lapse of another half hour, the original petition was brought back with a copy, which was shown to me, and I was informed that it was not requisite to receive the original, as a copy could answer all the purpose, it was therefore returned to me. I at once positively and firmly refused on any account to receive back a

petition which had been publicly delivered and read, affirming that it was a gross insult to request such a thing. This point was debated warmly for a long time; and the unfortunate petition was bandied backwards and forwards between the taoutae's room and ours five or six times; at last, he seeing that nothing could be gained from us, gave up the point and took it away with him, leaving a message that we should stay at the temple for the night, but that on no account were we to quit it; that all we wanted should be provided for us, and that early in the morning we should return on board, whither he meant to accompany us. Shortly after he had gone, a blue-button naval mandarin came to me with the following singular proposal: that all our men and the entire contents of the boat should be brought into the temple, and the boat given in charge to their people. I replied by asking the assembled mandarins if they took us for fools or children, that they behaved in this manner towards us; that our sailors were perfectly competent to take charge of the boat; and with regard to the message, intimating that we were to be held as prisoners in the temple, I recommended them not to enforce it if they valued the hinges of their doors. Now that our two foes the taoutae and cheheen were gone, the military mandarins were generally inclined to be civil; but there was not one among them all who possessed the manners of a gentleman, or any intelligence. Whilst supper was preparing, we sauntered out to the quay and talked with the people, who were still in vast crowds, but cordial in the extreme. Here, as everywhere else, the fame of the pamphlet had

spread like wildfire; about twenty we had distributed in our walk to the city, and now we were surrounded by people anxiously begging for a copy.

"We had no reason to complain of want of hospitality here on some points, as an excellent supper was provided for us, and comfortable bed-frames were laid for our accommodation. After supper I went and sat for half an hour with the mandarins, who asked numerous questions about England and her colonies, navy, mandarins, &c. We were here accused of being mandarins in disguise, which I strongly disclaimed."

The following morning, on going out, the first thing which caught our eye was the subjoined edict on the walls of the temple where we had lodged. Mr. Gutzlaff immediately took a copy of it, to the apparent annoyance of the mandarins, and great entertainment of the people, whose friendly disposition towards us was strongly apparent.

"Woo, by Imperial authority, taoutae of the districts Soo (Chow-foo) and Sung (Keang-foo), in the province of Keang-nam, &c. &c., issues his explicit orders to this effect:—

"I, the taou, have lately heard that an English ship was sauntering about the waters of Che-keang. The fact was corroborated by the people of Ning-po, who repaired to this harbour, and likewise by the fishermen, who stated that there was a barbarian ship at Chin-hae, in the sea of Chou Paou Shan, but

that now the civil and military functionaries had gone out to sea, and driven her away.

" Whilst I was examining and considering the subject, I received a letter from the chin-tae (Tsung-ping-kwan) of Soo Sung, who had received a report from the chin-tae of Ting hae, in the Che-keang province, stating that the barbarian vessel before mentioned, as staying in Che-keang province, had been entirely kept aloof.

" Kwan, the chin-keen, has now sent flying despatches to all the camps and the military along the coast, and besides has headed the men-of-war, and proceeded in every direction, both of the inner and outer sea, in order every where to trace and repel her. A flying despatch was also sent to the chin-tae (lieutenant-general) of Sang Shan, directing him to be well on his guard.

" For on examination it was found that the sea of Che-keang borders that of Keang-nam; hence the barbarian vessel, having been entirely driven away from Che-keang province, might take advantage of the wind, and sail towards the Keang-nam province, which was not unlikely.

" We should therefore ourselves be on our guard beforehand to ward her off. Additional orders have in consequence been issued to all the functionaries and magistrates of Foos and Heens along the coast, to lead out their skilful bands of soldiers and police, and repair to all the harbours of the said seas, everywhere patrolling and guarding; but if they ascertain that the said barbarian ship is sailing towards Keang-nam province, let them collect their forces, and rigorously enforce her expulsion from the fron-

tier, and not allow her to loiter for a single moment. Besides this, orders have been speedily issued, whereby all the inhabitants of the coast and the seafaring people are clearly ordered, that when the above-mentioned barbarian ship sails towards the frontiers, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood must instantly report it to the mandarins, that they may expel her. All commercial intercourse with the barbarian ship is strictly forbidden; but if any dare to disobey, they will be forthwith seized, examined, and prosecuted with severity; not the least forbearance will be shown. Let all implicitly obey. Do not oppose. A special edict.

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 5th moon,
20th day. (18th June, 1832.)

Previous to returning to the ship we again entered the town, and made sundry purchases. Shops, where woollen goods were exhibited for sale, were more abundant here than in any town we had seen; and in all of them the character of Kung-sze, "Company's," was conspicuously placed over the names of the various articles. The following is a rate of prices asked at various shops, and approximates very nearly to those at Ning-po. I suspect it to be only in the inland towns that European articles bear such an exorbitant price.

Camlets . from 4 to 5 dollars a chang, or 56 to 70 dollars p' piece.

Superfine broadcloths,	9 to 11	——	or 38 to 46
Long ells			12 to 16

I could see no calico, although I was told that it is frequently brought here. I distributed pamphlets and trading papers in all the shops, which both the people and mandarins showed the greatest anxiety to receive; and while walking through the crowd we were on all sides assailed with entreaties for a copy of this little work, the effect of which, upon the minds of the people, wherever we have been, perfectly surprised ourselves. On our return we found the mandarins greatly more polite in their demeanour than they had been the day before. The supercilious che-heen, who, only 24 hours previously, thought he was degraded by seeing me seated in his presence, now met us with the greatest politeness, and obsequiously forced us to take the highest seats. All the others were equally friendly in their demeanour, and talked about the great desire they felt to be on cordial terms with our countrymen, and the satisfaction they would feel if commercial intercourse could be promoted between us. I could not help reflecting how very different would have been the demeanour of these men, had we submissively complied with all their orders, stood before their tribunal, received back our petition, submitted to be confined as prisoners, and returned to our ships at day-light; then they would have triumphed over us, and treated us with contempt and neglect. Such are Chinese mandarins all over the empire. Compliance begets insolence; opposition and defiance produces civility and friendly professions.

We returned on board in the afternoon, and found the ship just on the point of entering the river. Numerous mandarins had been on board the preceding

day, and tried to impress on the mind of Captain Rees the perilous shoals which would be met with at the entrance. My Chinese servant, dressed in European clothes, acted as interpreter, and informed me that the principal mandarin, a yeukeeh or colonel, used every artifice to extract from him an account of who we were, and wherefore we had come, especially whether we were a ship of war or not. The military preparations which were in progress, were such as rendered it impossible to avoid smiling at them; and it really appeared as if the officers of the Chinese government had acted with the express intention of rendering themselves ridiculous. At each side of the river six large guns had been laid down on a raised mud bank, without trucks or carriages of any description; a considerable number of tents lined the high sides of the river, such as Chinese troops inhabit when on service. These are low, and afford little or no shelter against the inclemency of the weather. In order to give an appearance of military preparations to a more distant part of the bank, a whole row of mud heaps had been made into the form of tents, and then whitewashed; all this operation had been observed from the ship by aid of a glass. Fifteen war-junks lay also at the mouth of the river. The war-junks here are the most wretched and inefficient we have yet seen; they are merely large uncouth boats, of about 80 tons, with one gun on a sort of table in the centre of the vessel. On entering we passed through their line, and anchored about half a mile below Woosung.

The plan which I determined to pursue here, was

to declare, that as my request was addressed to the decision of the superior mandarins, I was determined to await that of the tsungtuh, who was alone capable of deciding on the point of whether we were to be permitted to trade or not; and consequently I would not yield obedience to any other orders but his. The advantages which appeared to me derivable from this plan were twofold. In the first place it appeared highly probable that the taoutae, in his anxiety to induce our departure, in order to be enabled to report our expulsion, might be induced to enter into a compromise, and permit us quietly to dispose of our cargo. On the other side, if a reference was made to the tsungtuh at Nankin, it ensured the greatest publicity being given to the fact of our having come to Shanghae seeking for trade; and a report of the circumstances being duly forwarded to the Emperor, and the complaints of foreigners against the unjust and oppressive system under which the trade was conducted at Canton, being thus reported simultaneously from various parts of the empire, it might naturally be hoped would provoke an inquiry into whether such charges were well founded or not; and thus eventually prove of some service to the trade at Canton. The whole of our intercourse with the mandarins of this place was unsatisfactory and wearying, without being productive of any results. The policy of the mandarins was evidently to leave us entirely unmolested, and take little notice of us, merely contenting themselves with keeping the people from visiting our ship, and to trust to our departure when we saw that no object could be attained by a

longer stay. I will now just give a brief outline of what occurred worthy of notice during our stay of 18 days at this port.

On the 22d several merchants visited us, in company with the interpreter. Feeling very anxious, if possible, to dispose of our goods here, I offered to sell the

Camlets	a' 36	per piece.
Superfine broadcloth .	a' 34	—
Super	a' 30	—
Calico	a' 8	—

And all the merchants readily agreed that a large profit could be realized, if purchased at those rates. I also had a private conversation with the interpreter, in which I explained to him that if his master, the taoutae, was really anxious for our departure, it might readily be procured by permitting us quietly to sell our goods.

In the course of the day a boat, with several mandarins, came alongside, and one of them delivered to me the following edict from the taoutae. It was written on a large sheet of paper, without a cover, and served as envelope to my petition, which I immediately returned into the boat, saying that I had already refused to take it back, and therefore would not now change my purpose. The boat then returned. The edict from the taoutae is as follows, and strongly bespeaks the hatred and contempt with which that officer regards foreigners. The paper is also quite informal, having no seal to render it authentic:

" Woo, by Imperial authority, taoutae, &c. &c. &c. issues this edict to the man of the barbarian ship Hoo-Hea-me, and the others, that they may be fully informed:

" According to their petition they hope to trade, and to have the matter reported to the higher authorities. On examining, it appears that according to law hitherto no barbarian ships have traded at Shanghae, and that the laws cannot be opposed. But as to what relates to reporting to superior authorities, this would be conniving in disobedience to the laws; hence the original petition is thrown back, chit hiwan (a term of great contempt). Let them instantly depart with speed, and obey the old laws, returning to Canton, and trading there. Let them not delay and deceive themselves.

" Taoukwang, 12th year, 5th moon, 23d day."

I immediately replied briefly to this edict as follows; in it I take the opportunity of expressing my determination to await the decision of the tsungtuh from Nanking.

" The English commander, Hoo-Hea-me, respectfully replies to his Excellency the Taoutae of Soo, Sung and Tae:

" I have now received a document in reply to my former petition, but this document has no official seal to render it authentic, and the language it contains is harsh and unpolite. My petition was for reference to the decision of the superior authorities at Nanking, and for their reply I will wait here; when it arrives, I feel confident it will be in kind and

civil terms, for the great mandarins are everywhere celebrated for their benevolence and politeness, and on my return to my own country I will report the same to my superiors.

" According to the statement received, my petition is thrown back to me; the affront I cannot suffer in silence, for by such conduct the respectability of my native country would suffer. The English nation are not barbarians, but foreigners, nor is there in the world any nation superior to them in power, dignity, and extent of dominions.

" To conclude, our object in coming here was to establish a friendly mercantile intercourse, to the mutual benefit of both parties; and our wish is to depart from Shanghae with a grateful heart; for it is a maxim among my countrymen to repay kindness with gratitude, and insult with resentment. I again return the former petition, and respectfully beg you will forward it to his Excellency the Viceroy of the Leang-keang."

" 5th day, 23d moon."

In the afternoon we landed at Woosung, and walked for some miles into the country; this we continued to do every evening during our stay. A mandarin and several attendants always accompanied us, but professed that their object merely was to protect us from any evil-disposed natives. We frequently landed at some distance from the town, purposely to avoid our escort, and never met with anything but the greatest friendliness on the part of the natives, who, on the contrary, were always much more cordial and frank in their manners when we

were alone. The whole country in this vicinity is dotted over with small villages, surrounded with trees in every direction. The population appears very great, but the natives are healthy and well fed: wheat, in the form of vermicelly and cakes, forms the principal part of their food. Whilst we were staying here, the land from which the wheat had just been cut, was ploughed up, irrigated, and again planted with rice, which would be cut on the ninth moon (September), a proof of the extraordinary fertility of the soil. The winters are said to be very severe, and that the snow sometimes lies several feet deep for more than a month. Ice is kept in great abundance throughout the summer, but is principally used for the preservation of fresh fish. Each family appears to cultivate a small portion of ground with cotton, which I here saw of a light yellow colour. The nankeen cloth made from that requires no dye. In every cottage were the requisite implements for carding, spinning and manufacturing the cloth sufficient for their own use, the remainder they sell. In several I saw the whole process in action at the same time, and took specimens away of the yellow cotton, both in its rough state and after being manufactured into cloth. The price for a piece is from three to four mace, the nankeen cloth from Shanghae is said to be the best in the empire.

The following day (June 23), at a very early hour, the interpreter came on board, accompanied by a naval mandarin, Lo-laou-yay, and once more brought back the original petition, accompanied by the one I sent yesterday. I positively refused to allow them to remain on board.

About noon two mandarins, Lo and another, returned, and we were not a little astonished at hearing them say that they were sent by the taoutae, to request his harsh edict should be returned to him, that he might write another instead, in a more conciliating tone, and affix his official seal. No more was said about my two petitions. This was indeed a singular falling off in his hitherto haughty demeanour. I replied that I felt great satisfaction to see that his Excellency was aware of the impropriety of writing such an insulting document; but as I had refused to receive back my petitions, because they were displeasing to the taoutae, I could on no account presume to return his, because the harshness of it was unpleasing to me. The mandarins could not help smiling at this argument. They next requested to be favoured with a copy of the edicts we had received at Ning-po, (which I had stated to be of a civil description) that the taoutae might frame a similar one. I replied that I must decline to do that, but that a mandarin of the taoutae's rank and talents could never be at a loss how to reply to strangers with kindness and urbanity, if it was his wish to do so.

The 24th they again returned, accompanied by the interpreter, who gave me a slip of paper, containing the following message from the taoutae, and again strongly requested that his edict might be returned to him. The words written on the slip of paper were as follows: "We are wrong in using these expressions, the inadvertence of the writer is the real cause of it. The junks of war and soldiers

are not come here on account of you, but because his excellency the tetuh is about to review them."

In reply, I stated that for the reasons before assigned, I could not return the taoutae's edict, but would feel delighted to receive another one from him in more friendly language, but that I really could with difficulty credit the latter part of the message as to the military preparations, as I was in possession of the edict which ordered them to assemble and expel us; on which I produced the copy which Mr. Gutzlaff had made while at Shanghae. This disconcerted them much. We had held several conversations on the use and meaning of the word E, as it was on the afternoon of this day that the taoutae sent off a paper containing his arguments to prove that there was nothing offensive in the word. This paper, together with my reply, which was delivered on the ensuing day, have already been inserted in this report.

The troops on both sides of the river were this day reviewed by the tetuh, who had arrived at Woosung on the 23d. There might be in all 500 men assembled; they were exercised in firing blank cartridges from their matchlocks. In the afternoon we landed, and saw them drawn out; the officers were all highly polite to us, and allowed us to examine the arms and accoutrements of the men. Most of them had no arms, but a sword and wicker shield, the sword of the most imperfect description, indeed nothing else than a flat bar of iron; the firelocks were generally in a filthy state, and almost corroded with rust: indeed the result of our inspection of his Imperial

Majesty's forces at Shanghae, conviced me that 50 resolute and well-disciplined men, or even a smaller number, would have routed a larger force than we saw there assembled.

During the following week nothing material occurred. The mandarins continued to prevent the people from visiting the ship, and to press us to receive our provisions as a present from them, which I refused; we consequently went daily to the market, and purchased what we wanted. Provisions of all sorts were cheap and abundant here, excepting beef, of which we procured none in any part of China. Goats are very plentiful, and fully as good as any mutton. The fruits here are far superior to those farther south; peaches, nectarines, loquats, small apples, and the arbutus, were in season during our stay, and very cheap. Vegetables of various kinds are also to be had for very little.

On the 1st of July, Mr. Gutzlaff and myself, with two of the officers of the Amherst, went and visited the island of Tsung-ming, the nearest point of which lies about 15 miles distant from Moosung, in a north-easterly direction. The southern entrance of the main land of Tsung-ming is in about 31. 30 N., which is several miles to the southward of what is laid down in the missionary charts. This island is however yearly increasing in extent, from the alluvial deposits of the great river. It is now above 60 miles in length, and from 15 to 18 in breadth, and is one of the most fertile and thickly populated districts in China. While in this neighbourhood I endeavoured, but fruitlessly, to procure an authentic printed account of Tsung-ming; but by the infor-

mation I gathered from the Chinese, it did not exist, at least in a habitable state, till the latter part of the Yuen dynasty, in the 14th century. This supposition gains force from a fact noticed in Sir G. Staunton's account of Lord Macartney's embassy, that no notice is taken of this island by the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo; although those of Chusan, which are bold and high, are distinctly marked down in the chart made by him, which is still preserved at Venice. Tsung-ming is interesting, as being the largest and most populated alluvial island in the world. Its population is said to amount to half a million.

We left our ship at 10, and steered about north-east, intending to pass between the two extensive sand-banks, lying in mid-channel, and which are just visible from the poop; but after crossing the fair channel, which varies from four to seven fathoms, we shoaled rapidly to three, two, one, and then to three feet first quarter flood, when we plainly perceived that the two banks are joined together by a long flat, which was principally dry, but which is probably passable by small boats at high water; we therefore bore up and ran north-west, along the side of the northern bank, which is overgrown with rushes, and had two huts on it. In another century all these banks will probably form a fertile and inhabited island. About a mile to the north-west of this is a small low islet, with bluff-mud banks, bearing from Woo-sung north about 10 miles; and following the track of a boat, we passed between this and the bank, the depth varying very irregularly from one and a half fathoms to four feet. After crossing this

flat, which is about half way across, the water deepened to five fathoms; several large junks were laying here; it then decreased to two, deepened again to four; then we crossed another sand, with one and a half fathoms, and again deepened to four fathoms, from which it gradually shoaled to three and two as we approached the shore, which in appearance exactly resembles the opposite side. We landed up a small creek, where a junk was lying, and walked straight in-shore. The natives at first were shy and timid of us, but were very soon reassured; and a fine intelligent little boy gladly undertook to show us the way to a town called Sin-kae, or Sin-kaou in the dialect of the place, distant about three miles. The ground appeared rich, and cultivated with rice, cotton, millet, and vegetables. It was intersected in every direction with dykes, which serve the double purpose of draining the land, and irrigating it when requisite. The people do not live in villages, as is usual in most provinces of China, but hamlets; and single houses are scattered about in every direction. The population appears immense; but the natives are healthy and vigorous, most having a fine ruddy complexion. Wheelbarrows of a peculiar structure are in common use both for conveying the produce of the soil, and also for the accommodation of travellers: they have a large wheel in the centre, which is covered, and the goods are stowed on each side of it. We met a respectable man travelling, on one side his portmanteau was stowed, and on the other he was comfortably seated on a felt mattress. We also met several loaded with a salt of peculiar whiteness, the mode of preparing which is

mentioned in Pen Jacquemen's description, in the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses." Certain parts of the island on the northern coast, though barren of every herb, yet have the peculiar quality of producing large quantities of this salt, which is at stated times carefully scraped from the surface. What makes this more singular is, that the ground which possesses this peculiar property, is often surrounded on all sides with fertile soil, but devoid of all saline particles.

After walking about three miles, gathering companions like a snow-ball, we arrived at the town, which is long and narrow: it has some very respectable houses and shops, among others one attracted my notice, which announced in large characters that it sold Company's camlets and broad cloth; but on inquiry, I was told that they had none of these precious commodities at present, but merely kept the characters on their sign to look respectable. We saw apricots in abundance in the fruit stalls, and purchased some, being the first I have seen since leaving Europe; they were small, and without much flavour, but resembling those of England. Having walked through the town, about half a mile long, attended by a great concourse of people, and looked into various shops and houses, we returned as we came. The friendly demeanour of these simple people, who now for the first time in their lives beheld a European, surpassed anything we had hitherto witnessed; and there being no mandarin in the place, no artificial check was placed to the natural friendly impulse of their hearts. Having observed that the apricot pleased us, numbers came to us,

offering the finest they could select. On all sides we were requested to bestow a copy of the pamphlet, of which we distributed about 20, and a crowd was immediately formed round the possessor to read it. On our return, we were escorted by at least 300 people of all ages, many of whom offered and begged us to accept presents of fish and vegetables, and anxiously expressed a hope that we would return another day. One fine boy, of about 12 years, was so anxious to make Mr. Gutzlaff some present, that having nothing else, he took a neat bamboo carved-comb, with which his hair was fastened, and gave it to him. On meeting a wheel-barrow, it was proposed to me to take possession of it, as a conveyance back to my boat, but I preferred my legs. On returning, the country people from all quarters had gathered to see us pass, and by the time we reached our boat, at least 600 people were assembled, and all seemed to vie which should be the most kind and friendly. Such is in general the true Chinese character when removed from the influence and example of their mandarins, and such are the people from whose violence they pretend such anxiety to protect us.

On returning we stood to the north of the small single island, crossed several banks with one fathom. About half way across we met a mandarin boat in search of us, and after a two hours' sail we reached our ship at $7\frac{1}{2}$, much delighted with our journey.

In the course we had witnessed a curious instance of the severity of military discipline in China. A mandarin, whose cap with a gold button was borne before him, was marched about in procession between two excutioners, blindfolded, with a small flag

on a short bamboo, pierced through each of his ears; before him was a man bearing a placard with this inscription :

" By orders of the general of Soo and Sung; for a breach of military discipline his ears are pierced as a warning to the multitude."

After being paraded along the bank he was taken round the different war-junks, and then on board the admiral's vessel. We subsequently heard that his offence was having allowed our boat to pass the fort without reporting it.

During the 12 days we had now been here I could not help feeling that little or no progress had been made towards bringing our affairs to any conclusion. There were at this time no fewer than five mandarins of rank assembled at Woosung; namely, the taoutae, the tetuh, the chefoo of Sung-keang-Foo, the chechow of Ta-tsang-Chow, and the tsung-ping of Soo and Sung. It was evident that this was on our account; yet we felt surprised that they never sought to come to any understanding with us; nor had any document been given since that short and offensive one recorded on the 22d, although on the 23d the taoutae had positively promised that a more satisfactory edict should be sent. We daily received visits from two naval mandarins with white buttons, and that clerk of the taoutae who was called the interpreter. The two mandarins were both illiterate, stupid men, who used daily to repeat exactly the same story; earnestly, and in the most servile terms, entreating us to go out of the river, and declaring

that when outside we should be enabled to trade, and appealing to our feelings of compassion towards themselves, as they assured us they would be degraded. On one occasion they degraded themselves so far as to kneel before me, and offer to perform the kotow. The conduct of the interpreter was still more inexplicable, for his object appeared to be to mislead us by false expectations, that by perseverance we should be able to carry our point. On several occasions he brought off mercantile people to the ship, who examined our cargo, inquired for opium, and left us, professing that they would see if it was possible to arrange matters so as to make purchases. The answers I gave on all occasions were the same to the public questions of the mandarins. My reply was, that I had sent a petition for the decision of the tsung-tuh, and when it came I would immediately yield obedience to it; but on the other hand I privately stated, that if an arrangement could be made to enable me to dispose of my cargo, I would immediately sail without delay.

I now began to suppose that a communication had been sent to the tsung-tuh, although this was always strongly denied, and it was asserted that he was in Keangoze, at the distance of three weeks' journey, and no answer could be got from him in less than two months; and moreover, that the taoutae dared not report the case. At any rate it was evident, that even if it were referred to his decision, it would certainly forbid our trade. I on several occasions requested that some mandarin of respectability might be deputed to hold a conference with us, either on shore or in the ship, but in vain. On this day (July 2)

the interpreter came on board with what he called a message from the taoutae, containing some such ridiculous falsehoods, that I declared I would hold no more communication, excepting through the medium of some authorized mandarin, or by correspondence on paper. The message was, "that he had heard our ship had been excluded from Whampoa for having brought women there; that we had thence sailed for Fuh Chow-foo, where we had fought with the admiral's ship, and that an English admiral was now at Whampoa." This was coupled with several absurd and contradictory reports, of which it was impossible to understand anything. Feeling the utter loss of valuable time which was incurred by this trifling, I endeavoured to open some communication by sending the following note to the taoutae.

"It is respectfully requested, that if the great officers wish either to communicate or to receive any information, that they will either depute a proper officer, or express their wishes in writing, and we will then give a clear explanation."

The interpreter now, as on several previous occasions, assailed me with the most abject entreaties to receive presents of provisions from the taoutae, assuring us that he would be severely punished if we refused, and endeavouring to induce our compliance, by prostrating himself, and performing the kotow. I positively declared that I would receive no present from any mandarin, much less the taoutae, who had hitherto shown us nothing but incivility,

until the people were fully allowed to come on board and supply us with all we wanted.

Two days more having elapsed without any communication, I determined to revisit Shanghae with the double object of making a few purchases, and seeing whether it would in any way expedite our affairs. We left the ship before day-light and proceeded to our old quarters at the temple. The cheheen very soon arrived there, with whom I held rather a long private conversation. His manners were polite in the extreme, and he commenced the conversation with a profusion of compliments. "You are an intelligent person," said he, "and must be aware that it is the wish both of us mandarins and of the people, that you should be allowed to trade here, because we should both profit by it; but so long as the imperial laws prohibit it, the thing is impossible." I replied, that I much wished the great mandarins assembled at Woosung, would express these sentiments to us in writing, but that we had now been there 15 days and had received no communication, except some uncivil messages and a most offensive unofficial edict from the taoutae; and notwithstanding my repeated request, no one came near us except two military mandarins, who talked on no subject but losing their buttons; and a worthless lying fellow they called an interpreter, who asked us ridiculous questions, and told us nothing but falsehoods. The cheheen laughed at my description of our negotiators and promised to send a civil mandarin that very evening to Woosung, to explain my wishes to the great mandarins. He now conversed with me on various subjects, while several

other mandarins, most of whom we had become acquainted with on our former visit, came dropping in. Mr. Gutzlaff, in the meanwhile, had made copies of the two following edicts, which were placarded outside the temple:

"Wan, cheheen of Shanghae, &c. &c. hereby issues a prohibition which he has officially received in a document from Leang, the fooyuen. In this it is stated, that Wang, the tetuh of Keangnam, had received a letter from the taoutae of Soo Sung. From this it appeared, that he had received accounts from Chekeang, that there was a ship rambling about the inner seas. It was truly to be feared that the said barbarian ship, profiting by the wind, might sail up to the Keangnam province. It was therefore proper to be beforehand with her, and unitedly to drive her away from the frontiers, not allowing her to enter and have commercial intercourse with the people along the coast. If the soldiers and police are in any way backward and negligent, they are to be treated with great severity.

"When I, the cheheen, received this report, I immediately sent an express to the military stations, that they might jointly patrol and repel her outside. For it is really to be feared that the said barbarian ship, profiting by the tide, might sail up towards these shores.

"Additional orders and prohibitions have been speedily issued to all the inhabitants, shopkeepers, and seafaring people of the neighbourhood, whereby they are clearly informed, that on meeting those barbarians on shore they are not allowed to have

intercourse with them; but if they dare to disobey, they will be seized and severely punished: no forbearance will be shown. If the heads of villages dare to protect them and connive, they themselves will be examined and punished. Do not oppose. A special order.

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 5th moon, 20 day."

"The cheheen of Shanghae, by directions of the chefoo of Sung-keang, severely prohibits all the merchants from holding any intercourse or communication with the men of the barbarian ship, either in going or coming.

"It is well known that heretofore the laws do not permit the English nation to trade in Keangnam province; but now a barbarian ship has come to the frontiers of Keangnam, in open defiance of the established laws; the native merchants are on no account allowed clandestinely to smuggle or associate with them in illegal transactions.

"The most explicit orders accompany this, whereby the shopkeepers and inhabitants are clearly informed, that if they dare to engage in clandestine intercourse with the barbarians, they will be punished with the utmost severity of the law. No forbearance will be shown. All the merchants and people have their families and lives to take charge of; they should not, by hankering after small gains, incur heavy guilt.

"Respect this; respect this; do not oppose. A special Proclamation.

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 6th moon, 3d day."

After breakfast we walked for some time about the city and suburbs, always attended by a dense crowd, and escorted by several mandarins and attendants. The cheheen at first told me that the prohibitions of the taoutae were positive against our making any purchases whatever; but after a good deal of argument, and on my explaining that the purchases we wished to make were not for sale, he agreed to shut his eyes, as he expressed it. We accordingly bought sundry trifles and various specimens of the beautiful silks and crapes of Soochon, to the value of several hundred dollars, which may be considered the first European traffic ever carried on in Shanghae. We quitted the town in the afternoon, after having had another long conversation with the mandarins. The chelieen, whose manners had been so offensive on our first visit, now showed more tact and obliging politeness than any of his colleagues. Before parting, he presented us with several baskets of fine fruit, and a large hamper of wheat from Manchou Tartary, and received a case of sweet wine as a return of courtesy. Before we departed, he again told me that a proper communication should be made to us the following day.

The promise which was made by the cheheen was faithfully kept: early this morning (July 6) an invitation was sent to us to come on shore at noon, to meet a deputed officer sent by the fooyuen. His name is Paou-tajin, foot-seang, or lieutenant general, on the fooyuen's staff. The following are the notes I took at the time of this interview.

Early this morning Lo and Luh Laowyays came on board to invite us to meet a mandarin of rank,

deputed by the fooyuen, at the temple. According to their account he arrived yesterday from Soochon. He is a foot-seang, or lieutenant-general: his name is Paou-tajin.

About noon we went on shore, and were received by several mandarins, who ushered us into the principal hall of the temple, where Paou-tajin and Le-laowyay, chefoo of Taetsanchow, were seated. They rose on our entering, and solicited us with much cordiality of manner, Paou-tajin requesting me to be seated next to him. Tea was handed round; and after a little conversation on indifferent topics, Paou commenced business by stating that he had been expressly commissioned by the foo-yuen to say that the tsung-tuh was absent in Keany-sye, and that a long time must elapse ere a reply could be obtained from him. Paou-tajin now proceeded with much urbanity to expatiate on the great desire which all the mandarins felt to carry on amicable and commercial intercourse with the English nation; but that it was utterly impossible, unless the sanction of their great Emperor was previously obtained. "Let the Sovereign of your nation send a wanshoo (document) to the great Emperor; then, if he consents to commercial intercourse, we shall all be delighted to see you; but the laws of the Celestial Empire are inviolable; they now prohibit your trading here; they cannot be infringed; you had better, therefore, return to Canton, and there sell your cargo."

I replied at some length, recapitulating the old arguments, that the oppressive and fraudulent conduct of the Canton Local Government had rendered it impossible for small ships to trade there legally

with advantage. Paou-tajin appeared to take a good deal of interest in my details, and asked many questions. "Why do you not petition?" said he. I replied, that petition on petition had been sent, and all treated with equal contempt: that the governor of the empire of Hindostan had himself written a letter on the subject, which had shared the same fate. "As to the inviolability of the laws of the Celestial Empire," continued I, addressing both the mandarins, "you, gentlemen, must well know that on points relating to foreign intercourse, there is not one day in the year in which they are not broken; and the reason is self-evident; their severity is such that it is impracticable to enforce their observance: for instance, your own laws forbid emigration under the severest penalties; yet millions of your countrymen live in foreign lands, and many tens of thousands reside in peace and happiness under our Government. Again: the taoutae told me himself, if ships from Shanghae frequented our ports, they were guilty of an illegal act in so doing; yet the fact is notorious to all, and is connived at, in consideration of the advantages derived. I need not allude to the mode in which the laws are obeyed in regard to opium." Paou-tajin here interrupted me with a good-natured smile, and said, "Hush! do not say any more on that point; we all know it." "To conclude, then," said I, "my arguments tend to this; that so long as your laws for the regulation of foreign intercourse are of such a nature that you yourselves are compelled to disregard them, how can we be expected scrupulously to comply? Let just and reasonable laws, such as circumstances require,

be made, and a ready obedience will be paid to them." In reply to various questions and interruptions, I explained some points relative to the nature of the grievances complained of at Canton.

Paou-tajin replied, "These points can only be settled by a correspondence between our respective Sovereigns;" and he tried to persuade us that we had misunderstood the taoutae as to the junks sailing illegally from Shangae, such a thing never having occurred. He was very polite throughout the whole conversation, but maintained that it was quite impossible for us to trade under present circumstances. "Would it not then have been preferable," said I, "to have informed us politely of the fact, to issuing such edicts as these (showing him a copy of those we had seen at Shanghae yesterday.) The che-chow and Paou-tajin, having looked over them, both joined in a sort of apology, saying that these edicts were not meant for us, but for the people: and Paou now told me that a proper official paper should be sent to us, couched in polite language, and that presents expressive of their friendship, should accompany it. I expressly requested that it should be duly sealed, to render it authentic, which was positively promised; and with regard to the presents, I assured the two mandarins that I would feel honoured by receiving any mark of their esteem, but that I must previously insist on being permitted freely to purchase what supplies we required; and I explained the inhospitable treatment we had hitherto met with in regard to that prohibition. An equally ready promise was given on that point, and the interview terminated with many mutual professions of regard.

During the middle of it, the che-chow called over the interpreter, and sent him with a message to Mr. Gutzlaff, that if our ship returned to the islands off Ning-po, she might doubtless trade there without molestation; a singular speech, in a public audience, from a man who had just been maintaining the inviolability of their laws.

In the afternoon the following edict from the taoutae was sent on board, which, however, contrary to the promise made to us, bore no seal. This point was in itself perhaps of no great importance; but having urged it, and obtained a pledge to that effect, I determined to insist on its fulfilment; and accordingly sent the document on shore, saying that I could not receive it in that state. Much stress appears to have been laid by the taou on this point; for the following morning he sent on board the seun-keen of Woosung, to say that he could not venture to affix his seal to the edict without having a precedent: but that if I would show him the seal of the taoutae of Ning-po, which I asserted to have in my possession, he would affix his. I accordingly produced that document, and showed him the seal affixed thereto. He was very urgent to be permitted to read the edict; but I declined showing it. He, however, declared himself fully satisfied, and in half an hour returned, bearing the taoutae's edict, sealed in due form. This document is in its sentiments anything but friendly; but it abstains from the use of all offensive terms, particularly that of barbarian:—

"Woo, by imperial authority, superintendent of customs, and taoutae of the districts Soo, Sung, and Tae, issues his orders to the English merchant Hoo-hea-me, and the others, that they may clearly inform themselves thereof.

"The said merchants have come hither in a solitary ship several myriads of le, and have been several years on their voyage, their only desire being to carry on commercial intercourse. Hitherto the English merchants have not been allowed to trade at Shanghae; this is according to the regulations of the Celestial Empire; and the native merchants and people dare by no means disobey the prohibitions, and engage in trade with you. You, therefore, by anchoring in these seas, involve yourselves in fruitless expenses, which lead to loss and not to profit.

"I, the taoutae, imitate the great Emperor, who harbours a compassionate mind towards foreigners. I therefore clearly inform and command you immediately to get under weigh. If you make pretext, and delay longer and longer, you will only involve yourselves deeper.

"You merchants have capital to conduct your commercial affairs, you should therefore return to Canton, where you are legally allowed to trade. Take care not to bring sorrow on yourselves, and involve yourselves in unavailing repentance. Hasten! hasten! These are the orders.

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 6th moon, 9th day."

It being now evident that no advantage was derivable from any further stay at this place, I intimated our intention of sailing, as soon as we had

obtained supplies of a few articles requisite, and of which I had given a list to a shopkeeper on shore. Even in this comparatively trifling point, the same total disregard of truth and consistency was shown, which had characterised the conduct of the mandarins of this place throughout all our intercourse with them. On the afternoon of the 7th, the two naval mandarins came, bringing with them all the articles I had ordered, with a civil card from Paoutajin, and Le Ta Laou-yay, the che-chow.

Luh Laou-yay now endeavoured to persuade me that all I wanted being thus sent, it was quite needless to take any more trouble about purchasing; and that if anything else was wanting, we had only to say it, and it would be given to us. In the present instance I assured the mandarins that they had quite mistaken our character in thus trifling with us even on this small point, and that my word having been pledged, that we would receive no presents until we had been supplied freely by the people with all that we wanted, I could add no more than that I would on no account swerve from it. Seeing that I resolutely refused to allow any thing to come into the ship, they went away, and in the course of half an hour the restriction prohibiting the natives from visiting the ship was taken off, and our decks were crowded with visitors of all descriptions; among others, the man from whom we had ordered our stores came on board, bringing with him everything we had commissioned him to purchase, which he said he had hitherto been prevented by the mandarins from sending. Late in the evening, Luh Laou-yay again returned with the presents, which we had

now no excuse for refusing, though, I confess, it was not without some reluctance I submitted even to this trifling obligation, to persons who had throughout behaved with such petty and degrading duplicity. Early the following morning I sent a note of thanks, with presents, to Paou-tajin and Le Ta Laou-yay, which, after a little demur, were accepted, and a message with thanks and good wishes was returned.

As this is the first time the emporium of Shanghae has been brought under the immediate notice of Europeans, some few remarks on it may not be inappropriate. Considering the extraordinary advantages which this place possesses for foreign trade, it is wonderful that it has not attracted more observation. One of the main causes of its importance is found in its fine arbour and navigable river, by which, in point of fact, Shanghae is the seaport of the Yang-tse-keang, and the principal emporium of eastern Asia, the native trade of it greatly exceeding even that of Canton. On our first arrival I was so much struck with the vast quantity of junks entering the river, that I caused them to be counted for several successive days. The result was that in seven days upwards of 400 junks, varying in size from 100 to 400 tons, passed Woo Sung, and proceeded to Shanghae. During the first part of our stay most of these vessels were the north country junks with four masts, from Teen-tsin, and various parts of Manchow Tartary, flour and peas from which place formed a great part of their cargo. But during the latter part of our stay the Fokien junks began to pour in, to the number of 30 and 40 per day. Many of these were from Formosa,

Canton, the Eastern Archipelago, Cochin China, and Siam.

The river * Woo-sing comes out of the Tahoo (the great lake), at Chang-keaon-kow, it then traverses the Yun-ho, or great canal, and thus communicates with the Yangtse-keang, the Yellow River, and Pekin; thence it enters the Pangshan Lake, and flows by Soo-chow-foo, the capital of the southern part of Keangsoo, one of the most commercial, wealthy, and luxurious cities of the empire. From this place numerous navigable rivers communicate and traverse each other in every direction. Thus it appears that this river affords a commodious water communication with the remotest parts of the empire, from Pekin to Yunan, from the eastern coast to the centre of the deserts in Tartary. The advantages which foreigners, especially the English, would derive from the liberty of trade with this place, are incalculable. Woollen manufactures are now only admitted by inland transport from Canton; and the various exactions and necessary expenses attendant on its conveyance, render them unattainable by the mass of the population in the interior; and from the coldness of the climate in the northern provinces, woollens would naturally be in much higher estimation in them than in the comparatively warm climate of Canton, did equal facilities exist for their introduction.

* All the geographical information relative to the courses of rivers, &c. has been extracted from the Ta-tsung-kwang-teen, which contains a general statistical and political account of the empire; these I have compared with the manuscript Atlas Sinensis, in the Company's Chinese Library, and have, in most instances, found them to agree.

When it is considered how trifling the present consumption of woollens is, when compared with the population of China, for instance, in the staple commodity of broad cloth, under 800,000 yards, among 360,000,000, not giving an average of one yard among 450 persons, is it wild or theoretic to imagine, that with a more free and extended intercourse the consumption might be quadrupled, or in time even increased ten-fold? Or is it unreasonable to turn an anxious eye to these hitherto almost unknown parts of the globe, to find new outlets for our English manufactures now, when all the nations of Europe are straining every nerve, by the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the imposition of protecting duties, to exclude the produce of English industry from their markets? Here is a nation in population nearly doubling that of all Europe, combined with a seacoast of fully 3,000 miles, abounding with the finest rivers and harbours in the world. Its ports and cities are filled with an industrious, enterprising, wealthy and commercial population, who would all hail the establishment of vessegn trade with joy. Even the mandarins in working their inhospitable and misanthropic laws, which eady to acknowledge the vast advantage which peopd be derivable from foreign intercourse; yet were will of a solitary despot has,* for the last century, been sufficient to separate near 400,000,000 human beings from all communication with their species. I do not pretend to be sufficiently versed

* That enlightened monarch, Kanghe, threw open all the ports of his empire to foreigners; nor did the present rigid system of exclusion prevail during former dynasties.

in the laws of nations (none of which are recognized by the ruler of China) to presume to say how far other countries are bound to yield implicit submission to these laws. But I may be allowed to express a hope, that as we attain more mutual knowledge of each other, and become better acquainted with the friendly sentiments entertained by the mass of the people towards foreigners, these selfish and injurious principles may gradually wear away; and that the time will soon come when the people of China, under a more liberal and enlightened system of government, may assume the place they are entitled to among the civilized nations of the world.

Having now concluded our transactions at Shanghae, we left the river on the morning of the 8th; the period prescribed for our return to Macao having already elapsed, I did not feel authorized in going to visit some of the ports in Manchow Tartary, as I had intended if time had permitted, nor indeed was any great point to be gained by so doing. The main object of the voyage was the acquirement of general information, and I hope it will be considered that the result has satisfactorily established two points, both of some importance, one, "that the people of China in general wish for a more extensive intercourse with foreigners; and, secondly, that the Chinese local governments, though opposed to such a principle, yet are powerless to enforce their prohibitory edicts."

The uncertainty in which we were as to the result of the negotiations in Canton also strongly urged our immediate return, but the numerous reports of ships having gone to the north which had reached

us from various quarters, induced us to believe that they had some foundation in fact; and I could not help feeling that should such have been the case, our presence might have proved of utility to the public service, both from the local information we had acquired, and from our acquaintance with the Chinese language. By going to the Shantung Promontory we might readily ascertain whether any ships had passed, and this I consequently resolved to do.

We were followed out of the river by the junks of war, who performed the usual ceremony of "expelling the barbarians," by firing several rounds of guns when we were about six miles distant, and then returning. On the 9th we stood out to sea, but did not see the promontory till the 14th, and on the following day anchored in the harbour of Wei-hae-wei, which was visited in 1816 by the ships of the embassy. The chart of this place by Lieutenant now Captain Crawford, is highly accurate. Mr. Gutzlaff and myself went on shore, and on inquiring from the people we soon ascertained that all our forebodings were wrong, and that no European enfoils had been seen or heard of in this part of the area since those of the embassy anchored here, would event was quite fresh in the memory of many the ple. We only staid here one day, during which centere visited by the mandarins of the place, both of and military, and the greatest anxiety was shown to induce our departure, and prevent any communication with the people.

We, however, landed and visited the town, which is now merely a small village in the centre of an

extensive though ruined wall; paved streets and other signs of its having formerly been a town of some importance, still remain. In a small temple, built on a platform at the most elevated part of the ramparts, we found an old inscription, from which it appears that this fortified town was built during the Ming dynasty, in the reign of Ching-tsoo, A. D. 1400, to protect the neighbouring country from the piratical descents of the Wo barbarians (the Japanese), who at that period repeatedly pillaged the coasts of China. The Emperor Tae-tsoo, in 1388, directed 59 towns to be built along the coast, and this probably was one of them, which was completed by his descendant Ching-tsoo. The name of the town is very significant of its object, the characters meaning, "Majestic Protector of the Sea." We found the natives here less cordial and communicative than on any other part of the coast. The Mandarin language is spoken here in its greatest purity, even by the peasantry, though the general character of the natives of Shantung is rude and illiterate.

On the 16th we got under weigh and stood to sea with a light south wind, and as with the wind we then had it would occasion little loss of time to cross over to Corea, I resolved not to lose the opportunity which our knowledge of the Chinese language would give us of acquiring some history information relative to this singular race of people who have hitherto, on the few occasions when strangers have visited their coast, manifested such marked aversion to hold any communication whatever with

Transactions in Chaou-seen, or Corea.

By 10 A.M. on the 17th, the land of Corea was seen a little to the north of Sir James Hall's Group; we stood towards a high bluff point of a large island, distinguished by a large detached mass of rock close to the point; on rounding this we opened an extensive bay exposed to the north. The summits of this, as well as the other islands to the southward, were clothed with luxuriant vegetation and high trees; the lower part, near the sea, was cleared and cultivated, and we saw numerous cattle and several villages.

At five Mr. Gutzlaff and myself left the ship in the gig, anxious to make our first acquaintance with the Coreans, of whose manners former navigators have given so very unfavourable an impression. In our way on shore we boarded a small fishing-boat: the people in it at first seemed much alarmed, but were soon reassured on my asking them in writing what the name of the place was; one wrote down Chang-shan Pung-shang, but he could not give us any more information, understanding very few Chinese characters. We gave him a book and a few lion buttons, which he gladly received, and voluntarily offered us some fish in return. We then landed on a point, where were some fisherman's huts and several fishermen. They objected strongly to our approaching their cottages, and one old man addressed us a long speech, which was quite unintelligible to us. The evening having now closed in we returned on board, making signs that we meant to return on the following morning, and inviting

them to come off to the ship. None of the party could read Chinese; we were therefore incapable to communicate with them.

The length of time which our voyage had already occupied prevented my forming plans for any lengthened stay among the Coreans, and without which it would have been fruitless to hope to overcome the rooted antipathy which these people appear to entertain against any intercourse with strangers; but still, as we were the first voyagers who had hitherto visited these regions, possessing the means of communicating our sentiments, I considered it my duty to look a little beyond any prospect of immediate advantage, and endeavour to open an amicable communication with the rulers of the land, which might perhaps be the means of obtaining a more cordial reception for future visitors. With this object in view, I drew up the following petition, addressed to the King of Corea, which I resolved to deliver as near as practicable to the capital. If the officers to whom it was delivered received it favourably, and gave us encouragement to wait for a reply, I determined to do so; but if the contrary, no harm could result from the experiment:

"The English captain Hoo Hea-me hereby respectfully lays a petition before the throne of his Majesty the King of Corea:

"An English merchant ship having arrived and anchored on the coast of your Majesty's dominions, I consider it my duty respectfully to state the circumstances which have led to her arrival.

"The ship is a merchant vessel from Hindostan, a

large empire subject to England, which adjoins to the south-west frontiers of the Chinese empire. The cargo of the ship consists of broadcloth, camlets, calicoes, watches, telescopes, and other goods, which I am desirous to dispose of, receiving in exchange either silver or the produce of this country, and paying the duties according to law.

"Although Great Britain is distant many myriads of le from your honourable nation, 'yet within the four seas all mankind are brethren.'* The Sovereign of our kingdom permits his subjects freely to trade with all the nations of the earth; but our laws expressly command them, in their intercourse with distant kingdoms, invariably to act with honesty, justice, and propriety; thus the bonds of friendship, which unite distant regions, may increase, and the benefits which arise from commercial intercourse may be widely extended.

"Hitherto no ships from my nation have visited your honourable kingdom for purposes of trade; but as your Majesty is a wise and enlightened sovereign, whose anxious wish is to promote the welfare of his subjects, it may be a subject worthy of your consideration, whether the revenues of your nation, and the prosperity of its subjects, would not be increased by the encouragement of commerce with foreign countries.

"If, therefore, your Majesty thinks fit to grant permission for my countrymen to trade, I humbly request that you will graciously issue an edict announcing the same, which I will take back and respectfully communicate to the King of my nation.

* Confucius.

Herewith I enclose two copies of a pamphlet on the Affairs of England, which, though written for distribution in China, contains some information relative to my country worthy of attention.

"I also presume to request your Majesty graciously to accept a few trifling articles, as patterns of the cargo of my ship. I enclose a list, humbly hoping your Majesty will not reject them.

"I respectfully pray that your Majesty may enjoy long life and endless prosperity, and that your nation may continue to flourish in peace and tranquillity.

"Dated in the year of our Lord 1832, on the 17th day of July.

"Taou-kwang, 12th year, 6th moon, 20th day.

"Jin Shin, or 29th year of the cycle."

By day-break on the morning of the 18th we landed, and proceeded towards a village about a mile inland.. We were soon met by several persons, to whom I showed a paper, previously written, stating that we were natives of England, their good friends, and bearers of a letter and presents to the King of Corea; that we now wished to see some mandarin, to consult with him, and moreover, wished to purchase fresh provisions of various sorts. This at first appeared satisfactory; but as we approached towards the village numerous parties came flocking out to meet us, among whom were many decently-dressed persons, wearing the peculiar broad-brimmed hats described in Captain Hall's voyage. I showed the paper to each party as they advanced, and there was evidently some difference of opinion among

them as to the way we were to be treated; all, however, appeared adverse to our entering the village. Among them was one man who came hurrying down with a match-lock in his hand, and a lighted match. He came straight to me in a bold unconcerned manner; but when I showed him the written paper, he took me by the arm in a friendly way, motioning me to sit down on a bank. But feeling desirous, if possible, to go to the village while the friendly feeling of the natives lasted, I proceeded without paying any attention to his intimation, and we advanced unmolested to a small hut, about 200 yards from the village. Here indications, which we could not misunderstand, were given that we must go no further. A crowd formed themselves in a row to bar our progress; and several came and took me rudely by the arm, motioning us to sit down on a mat. Two of the seniors now came and sat down, while a secretary unfolded a piece of paper, and, at the direction of one of them, wrote in reply to our paper: "That as nothing whatever in the shape of provisions could be obtained here, we had better instantly depart, and that by going to the north, about 30 le, we might meet with a mandarin to communicate with." A conversation of some length ensued, all carried on in writing. They requested to be told the contents of the letter to the King, which I said could only be communicated to a mandarin of rank; I therefore requested one might be sent for. Almost all their sentences terminated with a request that we would instantly be gone. During the discussion some difference of opinion appeared to prevail, and much loud conversation;

but finally the party hostile to us got the complete ascendency, one man having the audacity to write, "If you do not instantly depart, soldiers shall be sent for to decapitate you;" to which he afterwards added, "Begone, or a great change will take place; your life and death is uncertain." In reply to this insolent intimation Mr. Gutzlaff wrote, "Who are you? and what authority do you possess to use such insolent language? Your King, did he know it, would inflict severe punishment on you for thus treating us, who are his friends." This seemed to alarm the whole party, who, however, continued by signs urgently to entreat our departure.

There were now upwards of 200 persons assembled, and as it appeared that any further delay might have brought unpleasant consequences, we commenced our return, much disappointed at this complete failure of our endeavours. Our party consisted of eight, besides six with the boats; we were all, excepting Mr. Gutzlaff, well armed with cutlass and pistols, the apprehension of which probably prevented our being worse treated. In urging us to go away, the men repeatedly drew their forefinger across their throat, pointing both to us and themselves, thereby intimating that both our lives were in peril. At first I offered some small presents of lion buttons and calico, but they were refused.

As no advantage could be obtained by further communication with this misanthropic race, we got under weigh as soon as we returned, and stood to the southward. In the evening it blew fresh from the east, and drew round to the south by the morning. During the 19th and 20th we had constant

heavy rain and thick weather, which prevented our approaching near the shore.

On the 21st the weather cleared a little, and we saw several islands to the south-east, supposed to be the group among which Hutton's Island is placed; the wind continuing strong from the south-west, we stood in towards them. By noon we had a clear view of the Table Mountain, noticed by Captain Hall, which is a very conspicuous landmark. Working to windward we passed between some islands apparently about 10 miles from the main land, which is of undulating form, and mostly overgrown with high trees. The islands among which we passed were thickly inhabited, and the natives, men, women, and children, all ran up to the heights to gaze on us as we passed. At five in the evening, the tide turning against us, we anchored, the point of Basil's Bay bearing . We lay about two miles from a large village built on the brow of a steep hill, and with our glasses we could see the inhabitants in their white loose robes, hurrying to and fro, and evidently much excited by our appearance.

I had been so much discouraged by the total failure of our attempt to open a communication with the Coreans, that I had given up the idea of delaying any longer on the coast with that intention, but strong south winds, coupled with a fog, so dense that at times no object was visible at the distance of 100 yards, effectually prevented our proceeding. On the 23d some boats from the neighbouring village visited us, but none of the persons in them could write Chinese. After treating them with wine, and showing them about the ship, we accompanied

them on shore. The people here were not so rude and inhospitable as to the northward; we entered the village, and were entertained with spirits and salt fish. Considerable objection was, however, made to our walking through the village, which we did not insist on doing. The weather being very rainy and foggy, we had not the opportunity of walking about the island.

The following day the fog and bad weather continued uninterrupted. We were again visited by several boats, in one of which was a person who thoroughly understood the Chinese language. He commenced the conversation by asking our nation, and condoling with us on the hardships we were exposed to from wind and weather. I replied, more from curiosity than with any hopes of a favourable opening, "that we were natives of Great Britain, and wished to present a letter and presents to the King of Corea." The reply was, "you are here exposed to dangers; I will show you the way to a safe anchorage, where you can present the document to a great mandarin." I gladly availed myself of this unexpected opportunity for the accomplishment of my wishes. Our visitor informed us that his name was Teng-no, and that he had been expressly sent by a mandarin of rank in the neighbourhood to visit the ship, and see on what business she came.

Teng-no was now anxious that we should immediately move the ship to the harbour he spoke of, which was only 30 le, or 10 miles distant, assuring us that we need entertain no anxiety or suspicion, for the water was deep, and the pilots knew the passage well; adding, as an inducement, "having been many

days at sea you must doubtless think of eating fish and flesh; follow where I shall lead you, and you shall have both." I replied, expressing our high satisfaction at the hospitable feeling manifested, but that as our ship was large, and the weather thick and boisterous, we could not venture to move that day, but that if he would return the following morning we would thankfully accept his offer to pilot us to a safe anchorage, where we might meet with a mandarin of rank. To this he acceded.

In reply to some of our questions, he stated the name of their capital to be Keng-ke-taou Han-yang. The first three characters, which have hitherto been adopted in all maps as the name of the capital of Corea, appear merely to designate that is the capital town, and the two last, Han-yang, are the name of it. That this information was correct is evident on comparing it with what is stated in Timkouski's Mission, Vol. II. p. 101. He further told us, that it was distant 300 le. In reply to a question as to the name of his king, he replied, "I dare not write his sacred name; he rules over more than 300 cities, he is 43 years of age, and has sat on the throne 36 years."

Previous to his going away I offered some trifling presents of calico and camlet to Teng-no, and some other respectable-looking persons with him; they at first refused, repeating the common sign of drawing their forefinger across their throats, but after a little they received our gifts. A lion button was given to each of the sailors, and appeared to delight them much. After having staid some hours on board, during which we entertained them with sweet wine

and spirits, they left us and went on shore. The Coreans have all a decided partiality to strong liquors, of which they drink considerable quantities without its producing any effect on them.

The weather fortunately cleared up, and a little after noon (July 25) Teng-no returned, and again requested us to move the ship, which was accordingly done, and we steered in towards some islands laying N.E., with the long-boat a-head sounding. The islands we had been anchored at are called Lok-taou. Sailing with a fine southerly breeze, we rapidly passed the islands which lay about seven miles from Lok-taou, and then steered N.E. towards a deep bay, or rather passage among numerous islands. We here anchored near a large village, in which we were told the mandarins were staying. No sooner had we cast anchor than several boats came off; numerous questions were put, and expressions of condolence were given relative to the hardships we must have endured. We were also informed, that two mandarins of rank would visit us the ensuing day. By one of these messengers I wrote a short letter to the chief mandarin, who they styled Kin Tajin, informing him of our arrival, with a letter and presents to the King, and requesting him speedily to receive and forward them. This we delivered to a very intelligent young man, who explained to us that he was a secretary of one of the chiefs, and was appointed conjointly with Teng-no to act as intermediators between us and the authorities; his name was Yang-yih.

The following morning (July 26) we were visited by Teng-no and Yang-yih, who came to announce

the approach of the chiefs, who shortly after came on board. One of them was Kin Tajin, to whom I had written the letter, the other a civil chief, whose name was Le Ta-laou-yay. Kin was a fine old gentleman of 60, who from the first saluted us with perfect frankness and good humour, nor did he ever deviate from this during the whole period of our acquaintance. Le was an old infirm man with a venerable white beard. The chiefs in general wear no distinguishing mark to point out their rank, excepting that they were clad in more ample flowing robes than any of their attendants. All decently-dressed persons wear the enormous broad-brimmed hats described by Capt. Hall. Numerous questions were now put to us as to where we came from? what our object was? how far distant our home was? how many inhabitants our country contained? with numerous other inquiries; to all of which correct answers were given. In reply to a question whether the letter I had to present was on (kung) public business, I considered it advisable to say it was, and accordingly wrote, "Our object in coming here is to trade with your country; the ship is a (kung) public ship, and the letter treats on public subjects." This appeared satisfactory; but numerous questions were put as to what the contents of the letter were. This I did not think it advisable to communicate to them, but stated merely that the contents of it were for the perusal and decision of their king. I now added, that it was my wish publicly to deliver the letter and presents to them on shore during the afternoon. The novelty of the whole transaction was evidently rather embarrassing to the Corean

chiefs; they looked at each other, hesitated, several times dictated to their secretary, stopped him, and finally replied nothing. Musical snuff-boxes, pictures, and other things were exhibited to them, greatly to their amusement and satisfaction. Before the chiefs departed I again repeated (on paper) that I meant to come on shore in the afternoon with the letter and presents, and that Yang-yih, and Teng-no had better stay on board and accompany us. This point was ratified by old Kin exclaiming hota (good), and directing the two secretaries to remain with us.

The events of the last two days I confess surprised me considerably, showing the Coreans in so very different a light from what all accounts of former navigators and our experience led us to expect. The circumstance of our being requested to move to a safe harbour, and actually piloted there by Coreans, led us to imagine it possible that the court of Corea might be desirous to encourage the resort of foreign ships, and had issued orders to the chiefs on the coasts to treat any which might arrive with hospitality; I therefore considered it incumbent on me to make the most use I could of the present favourable opportunity to remove as far as was in our power the jealous apprehension of foreigners which the Coreans entertain. In preparing the presents to the king, I thought it now advisable to make considerable additions to what I had purposed sending; I accordingly made the following selection of articles, all of which were packed up in the presence of Yang-yih and Teng-no. Two lists were made, one to be inclosed with the petition, the other to be delivered to the chiefs.

List of Presents.

Broad cloth, superfine, 4 pieces, of various colours.
Camlet . . 6 ditto . . ditto.
Calico . . 14 ditto.
Telescopes . . 2.
Cut-glass, scent-bottles, flower-vases, &c., 6.
Lion-pattern Company's button, 12 dozen.
Books on various subjects, consisting of two copies of a perfect translation of the Bible, and of all the tracts and essays on geography, astronomy, sciences, &c., mostly by the late Dr. Milne, which Mr. Gutzlaff had brought with him for distribution among the Chinese.

Shortly after noon some boats came alongside filled with small tables and baskets with salt fish and cakes, soy, and jars of spirit; we were informed that this was meant for the dinner of ourselves and crew.

The notes which I took at the time contain a particular account of our first public interview with the Corean chiefs. As some parts of it are curious, and characteristic of the manners of this singular race, I will here insert it verbatim.

Extract from Journal.

"A little before four Mr. Gutzlaff and myself, with Mr. Simpson and Mr. Stephens, started in the long-boat, accompanied by our two friends, who, however, as the time approached, gave evident signs that they were not quite at ease. We went to the village, which is the temporary residence of the

chiefs, and landed on the beach among about 50 wild-looking Coreans, several of whom performed the throat-cutting ceremony, and evidently showed they wished us away. Yang-yih had also quite lost his vivacity, and wrote with a pencil, that the chiefs had gone out, and we had better come to-morrow. This intimation was now too late, and I was determined to see the thing fairly out, so we walked unarmed straight up to one of the alleys of the village, which is surrounded with a thick wattled fence 12 feet high, so that no houses can be seen. As we approached we heard the sound of trumpets, and saw two soldiers (who are distinguished by a blue dress, felt hat, with red tuft of hair hanging from it) marching down the lane blowing with all their might. They emerged just as we approached, and keeping close together abreast so as to block the passage, they blew a tremendous blast at us. We stopped and stared with astonishment, but in a half minute we saw the old chief and Kin coming down the lane on open arm-chairs, carried by four bearers. Le was seated on a tiger-skin, and made a most picturesque figure. The trumpeters now marched forward, and we staid looking on to see what was to happen next. On approaching us both the chiefs got out of their chairs and saluted us with politeness, at the same time pointing to the beach, where more than 20 people were at work raising a shed on poles. We explained that coming on public business we expected to be invited into a public office to deliver our document in a respectable manner, but the chiefs again pointed to the shed, and after speaking to our two friends, got into their chairs again,

and proceeded to the beach with two trumpeters before, two behind, and four or five more soldiers, none of whom carried arms. Our two friends now tried by signs and taking our arms to induce us to follow the chiefs, but we expressed our dissatisfaction at this mode of reception, and while Mr. Gutzlaff was writing, I gradually without violence forced my way through about ten natives at the entrance of the lane, and entered the opened space before a house, where was a commodious covered verandah outside. I now pointed to this, and seating myself, explained that we would be well satisfied there. As I entered a loud yell was set up by several people, and one of the soldiers ran down to inform the chiefs of what was going on. In a couple of minutes another yell was raised, and looking out to see what was the cause, we saw four soldiers running along the beach towards us, and two of them each seized on a man with a large hat, which the first took off, and then ran off again, dragging their victim between them as quick as they could run. The chiefs were seated on their chairs on men's shoulders close to the shed. On the culprits arriving they were first made to kneel before the chiefs and then laid down, and while one man removed their lower garments another brought a long paddle, and one stood over each, in readiness to inflict summary punishment.

"We in the meanwhile had followed to the spot to see what was to happen, and arrived just as the punishment was about to be inflicted. I could not, however, tamely look on and see perfectly innocent persons punished for my own act, so I went straight

to the soldier, who was in the act of striking, and stopping the uplifted blow, motioned him to stand aside; one of the crew, a stout negro, did the same to the other, and as the fellow did not seem inclined so quietly to submit to his authority, he in a moment wrested the paddle out of his hand and threw it to a distance. A crowd of more than 200 people had assembled round the chiefs, who sat raised up among them in their open chairs, and appeared much troubled in mind. In the meanwhile Mr. Gutzlaff had written a few words, saying that if these men were punished for our acts, we would instantly return to the ship and quit the country. They consulted for half a minute, and then old Le directed the prisoners to be liberated, and they scampered off as quick as their legs could carry them.

The chiefs now descended from their chairs, and entered the shed, inviting us to follow them: mats were spread, with tiger-skins laid over them. A short conversation by signs having been carried on, in which we intimated our discontent at this reception, Le wrote requesting that the letter should be delivered, and I, without waiting to reflect, drew it out, and placed it in his hands. A moment's thought reminded me that I had made a great mistake, and that if we wished to be invited into the village, it could only be done by refusing to deliver the document under a shed. It was now, however, too late; but on being requested to direct the presents to be brought out of the boat, I saw and profited by the opportunity to retrieve my error in diplomacy. "No," said I; "presents to the King of Corea cannot be delivered in such a disrespectful way: if you

have no respect for us, that you treat us thus, I think that which is due to your own Sovereign would show you that a letter and presents should not be delivered under a miserable shed." They seemed much puzzled, and answered, "It is our laws which prohibit it." "Then," said I; "the presents must accompany the letter; I shall take it back." This mode succeeded perfectly, as they evidently were very anxious that the letter and presents should be delivered. They first tried to soften us by expressing the high respect they entertained for us and our honourable nation. Then it was proposed that only Mr. Gutzlaff and myself should accompany them, and we should be invited to a house. I said if Messrs. Simpson and Stephens were included, I was satisfied; and this was agreed to, and a message sent to prepare a house to receive us. Wine, or rather a spirit resembling once-distilled whisky, was handed round. The chiefs were served first, which appears not to imply any incivility, as I observed the same in our host at Lok-taon, who was a simple villager.

We were now invited to proceed into the village; the chiefs ascended their chairs, the trumpeters blew, the soldiers pummeled away right and left among the crowd, as in China. On approaching the entrance of the village, a halt was made, and soldiers with trumpets were sent inside, probably to see that no women were loitering about. In the meanwhile either to pass the time, or to impress us with a due reverence to the Corean laws and chieftains, a poor fellow was pulled forward, laid down, and after old Kin had made him a short harangue, a soldier stepped forward with a long paddle and inflicted his punish-

ment, which, however, was not severe, being only two blows on the posteriors, and not given with much force. About ten fellows howled in concert with the sufferer, which is part of the ceremony. As we conceived that we could have no possible connexion with this case, we quietly looked on; but on inquiring from Yang-yih the cause, he replied, "It is for misconduct on public business and disrespect towards you." What it was, we had no idea. The procession now moved on, and the chiefs entered one of the first houses in the village; so that we saw little more of it than from outside, every lane being wattled so that no houses are seen: even in the one we entered, the doors and windows were closed; but a commodious place was left under the roof, on which mats were spread. I was asked if I would now send for the presents, and accordingly did so. They were packed in three cases, and were laid down on mats before the chiefs. I now rose, and in a formal manner, with my hands raised up, walked forward to the principal chief, and delivered the letter into his hands, with a paper requesting it and the presents might be forwarded with the utmost speed, which we were promised should be done.

Wine was now again handed round, with raw garlic as a relish, and we were made to take a glass, and the chiefs informed us of their intention again to pay us a visit to-morrow, and we parted on very friendly terms. On going away the poor fellows, whom I had rescued from a cudgelling, came and expressed their thanks most strongly; and the circumstance appears to have created a much more kindly feeling in our favour, as on going away almost

all the people joined in giving us their salutation, which consists in clapping the hands together on a level with the face. We now returned on board, and found that in our absence practical signs of friendship had been sent to us in two fine pigs, ready killed, a bag of rice, and some vegetables, accompanied by a card, with the seal of the chief. We therefore have a right to feel that we have made some little progress towards a friendly intercourse with this misanthropic race of beings.

At eight in the evening we were again visited by the two secretaries, with a string of questions as to the ship's cargo, the names of all the officers and men, length and breadth of the ship, heights of the masts, &c., together with numerous inquiries about England, why it was called Ta Ying, Great Britain; was there a Seaon Ying, Small Britain. The conference lasted till near midnight, but was entirely kept up on paper. The inconvenience and tediousness of this was remarked on by Yang-yih, who was a highly intelligent and lively person; before going he wrote,—"Except by writing my words are unintelligible to you, and yours to me; truly this is vexatious." In reply to some questions from us, they stated that the books they read and studied were mostly Chinese, viz. the four books Woo Ring, &c., but that they had also a literature of their own. Their religion is also entirely taken from the Chinese, many of the deities of the Fo and Bhudist sect being known to them; they, however, as belonging to the literati, professed to be pure Confucians.

In their towns they said they had temples dedicated to Confucius, Mencias, &c. &c.

The ensuing day we were again visited by Kin and Le, and numerous questions were again asked. We were informed that all these were for the express information of the King. The Coreans appear far from deficient in curiosity as to foreign nations. We were requested to write down the names of all the nations we had passed in our route from England to Corea, the names of all the nations of Europe, many particulars about Hindostan. We were again particularly questioned as to the contents of the letter, but to this I declined giving any reply, saying that it would explain itself. In return we addressed several questions to the chiefs, among others, "Why are you so fearful of foreigners entering your villages?" This appeared to embarrass them much. They consulted some time; Yang-yih several times took up his pencil, wrote a few words and obliterated them, and at last merely answered, "Formerly it was not so." Although on various occasions we repeatedly endeavoured to obtain some explanation of the singular apprehensions manifested by them, it was always in vain; yet some very strong cause, and enforced by dreadful penalties, must exist to render this feeling so powerful and universal. Land where you will, in the most unfrequented islands, the same sign of passing the hand across the throat, indicates the penalty to which a Corean exposes himself by admitting foreigners to his dwelling. The Coreans appear naturally to be a suspicious race; every

village, and even isolated houses, are surrounded by a high wattled hurdle, which effectually prevents any person from seeing into the interior. Before our departure the natives on the island near us got familiarized in some degree to us, from seeing that we never attempted to force an entrance to the village. Whenever we wished to meet the chiefs on business, we always insisted on being invited to a house; this was ceded so soon as they saw we were determined on the point, although it was asserted to be against their laws. In the present instance I clearly explained to Kin Fajin, that when we went on shore no one would ever forcibly enter a house, or in any way molest any person, so that no apprehensions need be entertained. To which he replied, "Thus it may be without objection." Kin and another chief staid and dined with us; Le excused himself on account of his age and infirmities. To each of the chiefs I made small presents, which, after some apparent reluctance, were accepted; nothing gave so much pleasure as small pieces of Brussels carpet, for seats to lay down over their mats.

Kin Fajin's manners, though rough and rather boisterous, were accompanied with so much tact and good humour, that he was soon a general favourite. While at dinner the other chief behaved with so much coarseness and impropriety, that it was impossible to conceal our disgust. Kin immediately perceived this, and reprimanded him very sharply; at the same time, calling for a pencil, he wrote, "I fear we transgress the rules of politeness, and are

ignorant of your honourable nation's customs." We expressed how much pleased we were with his demeanour, which seemed to gratify him much. After dinner we landed to plant some potatoes; Mr. Gutzlaff had written clear directions for the mode of cultivating them. We selected the most favourable spot of ground we could find, and planted more than a hundred. Several hundred natives stood round, gazing in astonishment. The paper of directions was given to the owner of the ground, who promised to take care of them, and on the following day I was much pleased to find the space neatly inclosed with a hurdle. If, therefore, due attention is only paid to the written directions, it may be hoped this fine vegetable will be propagated in Corea, the soil and climate of which must be highly favourable to it. On returning we found the chiefs seated on the beach, waiting for us, and we had to sit down and take a cup of wine with them.

On this day (July 28) the ship commenced watering on the opposite island, where there is a fine stream of fresh water. Although no village was near, yet a crowd of several hundred Coreans soon assembled; but instead of giving any annoyance, they cheerfully assisted in filling and passing the buckets to the boat, singing a monotonous song like the Lascars all the time. This friendly disposition of the natives was gratifying, as demonstrating that naturally they are not so misanthropic a race as is imagined. This aid was spontaneous on their part, and given with the utmost cheerfulness. We had no visitors to-day of rank; but our two friends,

Yang-yih and Teng-no, again came with a long list of questions. I was a little surprised by hearing them inquire for the ship's peaou, register or license, which was shown to them. Various questions were put as to our ships of war; how many guns they carried? why our ship carried guns? how many muskets, pistols, pikes, swords, were in her?

On the 30th we were visited by a chief of higher rank than any we had yet seen; his surname was also Kin; he stated himself to be a tseang-kean, and of the third class of mandarins. This chief, whom we distinguished from his name-sake by the title of the general, was a man about fifty, stout and well made, with a pleasing expression of countenance, and a fine black beard slightly silvered; his dress and manners were far superior to anything we had hitherto seen in Corea. The hat he wore was pointed at top, decorated with a plume of peacock's feathers, and fastened under the chin with elegant beads of amber and black wood. His upper garments were of fine Japan silk, of various colours, and his flowing white robes, of the white linen cloth of his country, were perfectly neat and clean, to a degree I have rarely witnessed in a Chinese mandarin. He was accompanied by Kin, who evidently considered himself quite at home among us, and did the honours of the ship, pointing out to our new visitors all the curious things he had formerly witnessed.

A little after noon two large boats came off bringing a complete Corean dinner for the whole crew, consisting of chicken broth with vermicelly, slices of

pork, salads, and various sorts of cake, and bowls of honey, with jars of wine. It was explained to us that the chiefs, Kin and the general, had sent this entertainment for the ship's crew, and had come to partake of it with us. Evidently this was meant to compensate for the apparent inhospitality shown to us on shore, and as apparently the chiefs were hitherto acting on their own responsibility, and might perhaps be liable to the severe displeasure of an arbitrary despot for what encouragement has been afforded us, it would have been ungracious on our part not to have shown ourselves sensible of the kindness of their attentions; we therefore expressed ourselves much pleased, and directed the tables to be ranged out on deck; the front of the poop was carpeted for ourselves and the chiefs.

The customs of the Coreans at their meals, it appears, are similar to the Japanese; each guest has a separate little table of about a foot high before him; the chop-sticks used are like the Chinese, but they carry a small knife at their girdle to cut their meat with. Most of the dishes, though cold, proved so palatable, that we ended by making a very hearty repast, greatly to the delight of the chiefs. Before they went, I asked when an answer might be expected to our letter; the reply was, "Wait in peace for a few days." On a previous day I had given a list to Kin of the various articles of stock and provisions we needed for the ship, requesting to be allowed to purchase them, but as this was objected to, I said I would be happy to comply and receive them as a present. These having not yet come, I

gave another list to the general, which he promised should be sent the following day.

Between this period and the 7th, we were visited by several other chiefs of rank, who all repeated the same routine of questions; some made such particular inquiries about our cargo, and what we were willing to receive in return, as to induce a strong expectation that it was their intention to trade with us. During the few first days of our stay comparatively much less reserve was shown than afterwards, though even then suspicion and fear was always shown in answering any questions relative to their country and its customs. One day, the 27th, after a great deal of persuasion, we succeeded in inducing Yang-yih to write out a copy of the Corean alphabet, and Mr. Gutzlaff having written the Lord's Prayer in Chinese character, he both gave the sound, and wrote it out in Corean character, but after having done so he expressed the greatest alarm, repeatedly passing his hand across his throat, and intimating, that if the chiefs knew it he would lose his head. He was most anxious to be permitted to destroy the paper. To quiet his apprehensions, it was locked up before him, and he was assured that no one should ever be allowed to see it. During these first days, I also succeeded in obtaining the Corean name for various Chinese words; but from the 31st, their reserve on all subjects increased; we were several times requested strongly not to go on shore, which however we continued doing daily, on the plea that it was necessary for our health to take exercise, nor was any attempt ever made to prevent it.

Whenever we inquired about a reply to the letter, the same answer was invariably given: "Wait in peace for a few days." They even appeared apprehensive lest we should abruptly depart, which was apparent from their constantly evading to send us the supplies we were in want of, merely sending a few articles for our daily consumption. Kin and the general were our constant visitors, and both showed the most friendly feeling towards us; the general, on repeated occasions, expressing his regret at the reserve he was compelled to treat us with, which was on account of orders received from superior authority. We frequently had numerous visitors, attracted from curiosty to see the ship; nor did the chiefs appear to object to their coming on board; but it was almost in vain to attempt to get any information from them; on that point they were evidently acting under strict orders.

On the 7th of August, a party proceeded in the long-boat to explore a deep and wide bay, the northern point of which was only a few miles from where we were lying. I annex the notes I took of our visit to this fine and extensive bay, which was named Marjoribanks' Harbour, in a compliment to the late president, at whose suggestion the present experimental voyage was undertaken.

Extract from Journal.

At half-past eight we started with a fresh S. W. wind and strong flood tide, which carried us on at a rapid pace. We coasted along the western side of

the bay, which is studded with numerous beautiful verdant islets, mostly cultivated and inhabited. There is no variety whatever in the villages, as they are all surrounded with a high hurdle; even single houses are the same, so that nothing is visible but the thatched roofs. All the western side is thickly wooded with fine fir timber, which is very abundant here; many of the trees are fit for spars, and the wood is all of the best quality, close grained, and full of turpentine, but it appears here to bear no value whatever. We continued our course, opening bay after bay; the forest scenery varied occasionally, with beautiful green glades, at the bottom of which a small village was generally situated. As we advanced up the bay it became wider and wider, at the entrance of it about five miles, and ten miles up nearly double that breadth; the depth is very variable, as it is full of shoals and rocks, but if properly surveyed would doubtless be accessible for ships of any dimensions, as we generally found from 8 to 12 fathoms in the fair channel. About 16 or 18 miles from the entrance the bay divides into two; on the west side is a narrow passage, formed by two or three long islands, which jut out from a promontory on the main land, which thus forms two bays of great extent. We proceeded along the west shore, one of our objects being to ascertain, whether the land forming it was an island or not. The island to the eastward of us was two miles in length, fertile, and with several large villages. On the hills we saw numerous cattle, which appeared large and fine The natives crowded out to gaze on us, but we saw

none but men. Having proceeded about six miles further, the bottom of the bay still appeared at a great distance; we therefore were obliged to abandon the plan of reaching its extremity, and landed on the promontory in the centre, which we had at first imagined to be an island. On ascending a high hill, we enjoyed a fine extensive view. The first thing which caught my eye was a crowd hurrying over the brow of a hill, distant a mile from us. On scrutinizing with a telescope, they proved to be all women, some with children on their backs, others tottering with old age and supporting themselves with a staff. On looking round, we saw various other parties hurrying up every path; not one man was among them. It was therefore evident that our unexpected arrival occasioned this panic. What their reason or ideas can be to occasion such extraordinary suspicion and alarm, it is difficult to imagine, but it must be a prejudice very deeply rooted in all their minds by education, and enforced by the severest penalties of an arbitrary and oppressive government. In the village fronting our ship, we have of late constantly seen the women come out to work in the front of it, winnowing grain and taking their children to their labour; and even when our parties have been on shore, they have shown the natural curiosity of the sex by peeping out at the strangers from behind the hurdles, though in general rudely driven back by the men. The dress of the women very much resembles that of a slave of Macao, a short upper dress, with a petticoat unconnected therewith, bareheaded, the hair tied in

a knot at the top without ornament. We have, however, had no opportunities of examining them more closely than at the distance of half a mile, through a good telescope. They are generally robust, and I should say are treated with very little consideration by their partners, as almost every day we saw the women employed in various kinds of labour in front of the village, while numerous groups of men were sauntering about in various directions, and reclining on mats, never assisted them in their work, and rarely spoke to them, excepting to drive them into the village whenever one of our boats approached the shore. We repeatedly have endeavoured to obtain some explanation of the mystery which causes the extreme dread entertained of our even beholding any of the fair Coreans.

From the eminence where we were, we saw the open sea to the westward, and observed that the long point which forms the western side of the bay was separated from the mainland by a narrow passage. The jungle and forest here ceases, and the opposite side was well cultivated and thinly wooded. The western bay stretches seven or eight miles above where we were, but we could not see the termination of the eastern one, which goes in a north-north-east direction, and if the position of the capital in the missionary charts is correct, this first must lead to within 70 or 80 miles of it; we have observed that all the boats with mandarins come in this direction.

Having no time to spare, we returned direct from the hill to the boat without communicating with

the natives, who assembled in crowds on the neighbouring height. We now crossed, and landed on the opposite shore, to ascertain whether the inlet we saw really had a communication with the sea; the neck of land is here not above a mile in breadth, in parts. Meeting some natives, they told us that there was a passage separating this island from the main, which is about 20 miles in length, and of irregular breadth, varying from six to seven miles at the extreme, to one or two. It is a complete forest, and the natives say contains tigers. The tide having turned, we now commenced our return, but the wind being directly against us, we did not make above 10 miles, and anchored in shore for the night, abreast of a cluster of islands in the centre of the bay, which are about 10 miles from the entrance, and arrived at the ship by six on the following morning.

On returning I heard from Captain Rees, that shortly after we had left the ship, old Kin Tajin had come in a boat, which contained not only the letter and three cases of presents to the king, which we were repeatedly assured had been long ago forwarded to the capital, but every trifling article which had at various times been presented to the chiefs and others, even to a few yards of calico. Kin was very anxious that these should all be received, which, however, Captain Rees positively refused to permit; and after a little time he returned on shore apparently in great uneasiness of mind. In the forenoon Mr. Gutzlaff and myself went on shore; we saw none of the chiefs but Kin; to him I put the following questions: Why the letter and presents had not been forwarded,

and why we had been repeatedly deceived by false promises of having the provisions we required sent to us? He replied, that a great officer was coming from the capital, who would visit us on the following day, and that he would give every explanation. After some discussion, he pledged himself that the provisions should be sent the following day.

On the 9th we had a formal visit from the long-expected envoy, who brought the decision on our request. He was accompanied by Kin, the general, and Le, whom we had not seen for ten days past, and strongly suspected that he had been to the capital. The envoy was named Woo Tajin, a man about forty, elegantly dressed in Chinese silks. After the ceremony of introduction had been gone through with much form and politeness, and the chiefs had been shown into the cabins, carpets were at their request spread out on deck, and the following conversation took place, of which I kept a copy, verbatim, in Chinese. It exhibits a wonderful indifference to truth on the part of the Coreans, and affords some explanation of the principles on which this nation refuses all intercourse with foreigners. The conversation was entirely dictated by the envoy, Woo Tajin.

Corean Chief. In traversing the ocean you have been exposed to perils and difficulties; truly we feel compassion, and hope you have sustained no injury.—*English.* We thank you for your inquiry. By the protection of Heaven we have arrived in safety.

C. Wherefore have you come from a distance?— *E.* The cause has been already reported, to present a letter and presents to the king of your honourable nation, hoping that our nations may be connected by friendly and commercial intercourse.

C. My nation has heretofore been *subservient to the Tasing Empire; it is our superior. How then dare a dependent state clandestinely engage in intercourse? — *E.* Siam and Cochin China are both tributary to China; Corea is on the same terms as these two nations; yet both China and those countries admit our ships to trade with them. Your honourable nation is the only one which holds no intercourse with Great Britain; why should it not do so, like the others?

C. My nation borders closely on the Chinese Empire; therefore, without the commands and sanction of our superior, it dare not presume of itself to establish new customs, either on great or small affairs.—*E.* Siam and Cochin both border closely on China, yet they do not decline intercourse with foreigners.

C. My nation does not act thus; from former times till now we submit to the imperial decision; as to your affair, decidedly, we dare not presume to permit it.

On considering, it appeared evidently fruitless to attempt to push this point further, as the Coreans

* The word used is [ ], which implies complete submission, and is much stronger than the usual term applied to tributary states.—*Tsing-kung.*

have indisputably the right to style themselves the vassals of China if they think fit to do so; I therefore replied—

If that be the case, I have only to request the reply of his Majesty to my petition, that on my return I may show it to my superiors. This is merely in accordance with the customs of all nations.

C. My nation's customs permit no such affair. The local officers dare not report it to the capital. The officers at the capital dare not report the subject to the king.—*E.* Then we are to understand that the refusal comes, not from the king, but the mandarins; yet how can we reconcile this with the constant assurances we have received, that the whole affair had been represented to his Majesty for his decision?

C. The affair being contrary to our laws, the great mandarins dare not report it to the king.—*E.* But we have been positively informed that the affair has been reported to the king, and we therefore await his decision.

C. Who has informed you of this?—To this we replied by pointing to the other chiefs present; on which Woo unhesitatingly answered, that all they had told us were falsehoods, that the two chiefs, Kin and Le, who had publicly received the letter and presents, had done so from ignorance and stupidity, being old and incapacitated; that they had both incurred guilt, and would be prosecuted by the poo-ching-sze, (the term in Chinese means treasurer), who, on no account, dare report the matter to the

king. In reply, I stated my extreme dissatisfaction at having been thus detained for near three weeks by false pretences, and at the same time intimated that we could scarcely credit the fact of the king being in ignorance of our arrival. Woo Tajin appeared to have made up his mind to throw all the blame on Kin and Le, and though they were both present, he again asserted that the whole was owing to their stupidity and ignorance. After some further debate on this subject, Woo went to the gangway and ordered the letter and present, which were all at hand, to be put on board; but here I at once stopped him, and requesting him to be again seated, I stated as follows:

This letter and presents have been received at a public interview, and positive pledges have been given that they should be forwarded to your king; we have moreover been detained here at your own request for three weeks, awaiting a reply, which we were daily assured would soon arrive. Now we are unceremoniously told that the affair has never been reported to his Majesty, but that we have been deceived by false statements of your own chiefs; this we can scarcely credit; but I can on no account permit the letter and presents to be thrown back upon me in this abrupt and disrespectful manner; nor will I receive them, unless an official document affording some explanation of your extraordinary conduct accompanies them; this I must insist on for my own justification before my superiors at home.

Woo Tajin had hitherto maintained an air of self-satisfaction and hauteur, and evidently expected to arrange the affair entirely according to his own wishes, but when he saw that I was determined on not allowing the letter and presents to be received, he lost his self-possession entirely, and appeared greatly agitated; this he showed by addressing me rapidly in Corean, of which I understood not a word, while by signs he appealed to my compassion in the most impressive manner. He seized my hands repeatedly, bowing almost to the ground,and then made signs that his head would be cut off and his bowels ripped open if I persisted in my refusal. I must here observe, that in spite of the repeated promises of the various chiefs, the provisions we wanted had never made their appearance, and as the continuance of any appearance of friendship between us seemed now rather doubtful, I thought it prudent to manage so as to have this point settled at once. I therefore again addressed Woo Tajin, pointing out the very unsatisfactory manner in which we had been treated on this point, and added, that I would not hear one word more on any public business until our supplies had been received, adding, that I would prefer paying for them. Woo tried to induce me to promise that I would receive back the letter with the provisions, but I clearly and positively refused to give any pledge whatever on the subject. Mr. Gutzlaff and myself now left the circle, and the chiefs consulted together for some time. Woo seemed in great anxiety and despondence; but I could clearly see that the other chiefs, the general in particular,

rather enjoyed his discomfiture. The purport of his remarks to Woo appeared to be, "I told you so before; now you see these foreigners will not submit to be treated in this manner." Repeated attempts were made by Woo to induce us again to enter into argument, but the only reply I gave was, "when we have received our provisions I will then discuss other subjects." Finally, seeing that nothing was to be gained they went away, and in course of the following morning our supplies arrived, consisting of two bullocks, salt fish for the lascars, with an abundant supply of live stock and vegetables for our own use.

I could not help feeling that we had a just and strong cause of complaint for the treatment we had experienced from the Corean government, in thus detaining us for so long a period, and then endeavouring to dismiss us in so abrupt and disrespectful manner. In spite of the repeated denial of Woo Tajin, I could not for a moment doubt that he is acting by express orders from the king, who, having finally come to a decision against admitting us to trade, now endeavoured to persuade us that the thing is so repugnant to their laws that it cannot be reported to him. The barefaced and unscrupulous manner in which Woo maintained this argument, by asserting that all the chiefs who had hitherto communicated with us were unauthorized liars, is too gross even for Chinese diplomacy. It was evident that all hopes of establishing commercial intercourse with these people must for the present be abandoned; but still it was an object to leave a favourable

impression of the English character behind us, which might prove of material assistance to us at some future period. I felt fully satisfied that if I had consented to allow the letter and presents to be thrown back upon us in the unceremonious manner which was intended, it would have very much lowered our character in their estimation, particularly after I had once asserted that I would not receive them without an official document; I therefore resolved, on no accout, to swerve from that resolution. I cannot help considering that, in all intercourse with these nations, a character for undeviating truth is the first point to be established; and putting aside the moral superiority it gives you against Chinese and Corean diplomatists, who can hardly speak truth on any occasion, it will generally be found far more than a match for all their wiles and artifices.

From various trifling causes we clearly observed that a good deal of jealousy exists among the chiefs, particularly between Woo and the general, who naturally could not feel well pleased at hearing himself stigmatized as a liar; and he evidently enjoyed Woo's discomfiture on my refusing to receive back the letter and presents. The other two, Kin and Le, though they took little share in the discussions, we believe also to be well-disposed towards us. Under the present circumstances, all that we could do was to look forward to prospective advantages which might be derivable from our present failure; and the most probable mode of effecting this appeared to be by contriving so that a true and

accurate statement of facts connected with us should reach the king, and become matter of public notoriety. With this end in view Mr. Gutzlaff drew up, in Chinese, a paper, of which the translation is adjoined. Four copies of this were made, in order to be delivered to each of the chiefs when they came on board; and it is not improbable the jealousy existing between them will ensure its publicity, although some of the remarks contained in it, though true, are not of a nature likely to prove very palatable. The document is styled

"*A Memorial for the Inspection of the King.*

"Confucius says, 'When a friend arrives from a distance, is it not a subject of rejoicing?' and now that an English ship has arrived from a distance of many myriads of le, bearing a letter and presents, should you not rejoice thereat?

"When we Englishmen arrived on the frontiers of your honourable nation at Chang-shan we met with none but the common people, and had no intercourse with any chiefs; we therefore made no stay there, but came to Luh-taou; thence we were invited by the chiefs to enter Gan-keang; and there we publicly presented our document and presents to the chiefs Kin and Le, respectfully requesting they might be forwarded to his Majesty; this was promised. Moreover, having been long at sea, we requested them to supply our wants; this also the chiefs pledged themselves to do. Some days afterwards messengers came to the ship, who informed us that the letter

and presents had been forwarded to the capital. How could we harbour doubt and suspicion? Deputed officers repeatedly came and examined all particulars relative to the ship, and also made many inquiries respecting the affairs of our nation. All these were stated to be for the information of his Majesty, and distinct answers were given. On departing they all directed us quietly to await for a reply to our petition.

" Now Woo, the chief heen-ta-foo, has come to our ship, and acquainted us,

" 1st. That Corea was subservient to China, and obeyed the decrees of its Emperor.

" 2d. That as the laws of this nation prohibited all intercourse with foreigners, excepting the Chinese, the chiefs did not dare report the subject to the King.

" Now the first point is erroneous, and you thereby needlessly lower the character of your own nation, for we well know that the kingdom of Corea is governed by its own laws, and ruled by its own king; it by no means obeys the decrees of a foreign sovereign. By the statistical accounts of the Chinese empire, Corea is a tributary kingdom, but no more. But Cochin China and Siam are equally tributary to China, yet with these nations we maintain commercial intercourse; why not also with Corea? We are also aware that Corea carries on trade with Japan: are they not foreigners? Yet you assert

that no foreign trade is legal excepting with the Chinese.

"The great mandarins state that they dare not report; but as the capital of your nation is at no great distance, it is inexplicable that the king should not have heard of a circumstance so unusual as the arrival of a foreign ship; and if he has heard of it, it is still more strange that the mandarins have not reported the circumstance.

"With regard to the presents, you first publicly receive them, and then unceremoniously reject them; by acting thus you grossly affront strangers who came here with the most friendly intentions, and set all propriety at defiance; the more so as Woo Tajin asserts that the chiefs do it on their own responsibility, and without reference to the king.

"Our feelings towards the chiefs and the people are friendly; we have no sinister intentions. Wherefore are we treated with such suspicion, as if we were your enemies? When we ask questions, you refuse to reply. You prohibit our entering the villages, and seek to cut off all communication with the people. Yesterday innocent persons were punished for merely coming to the ship to visit us; this we cannot refrain from considering an affront to ourselves. In proof of our friendly wishes we have distributed among you books of various sorts, containing treatises on astronomy, geography and history, which are both instructive and amusing. We have moreover given you books containing the doctrines of our religion, and the true revelations of God and Jesus; these, if carefully read by well-

disposed persons, contain precepts which may be of the greatest utility. Confucius says, 'Within the four seas all mankind are brethren.' You honour these principles; yet if you acted on them, how can you prohibit intercourse with foreigners?

"Perhaps it may be said the intercourse of foreigners with the natives would be productive of a subversion of their ancient customs and laws: would it not perhaps be as well to compare your customs with those of foreign states, and see which are preferable? then if yours are the best retain them, if not some might be changed with advantage.

"Perhaps you may say, our nation is poor, how can we trade with you? To this we reply, allow our countrymen to trade here, and gold and silver will flow into the land, the revenues of the government will be increased, and the wealth and prosperity of the nation will rapidly advance. On this account do China and Japan encourage foreign trade; how comes it that you do not follow the good example set by the neighbouring nations?

"To conclude, according to the assertion of Woo Tajin, the chiefs Kin and Le are both old and stupid; and it is owing to their ignorance and misconduct that we have been detained here. Now the doctrines both of your country and ours teach us that old age should be honoured; and these two chiefs are both men of experience, and should well know the laws of your country, nor would they have acted as they did without authority so to do.

"We foreigners have had intercourse with various

nations, but never have we seen such reserve and secresy as here; yet it is of no avail, for we are in possession of maps of your country, and books describing its ancient history and customs. Since our arrival here we have visited various places in the vicinity; everywhere we have seen a poor and scanty population inhabiting mean huts, plenty of wood and jungle, little of cultivated fields. What a vast difference between this and the adjoining kingdom! but it appears that this arises from the seclusion and prohibition against foreign intercourse; nor is it to be expected that so long as these customs continue, the nation will flourish or prosper beyond her neighbours.

"Finally, we respectfully solicit, that if in future any English vessel should arrive in want of provisions, that they may be supplied to her without causing delay; and if by misfortune a ship should be wrecked on the coast of your kingdom, we solicit you to save the lives of the crew, treat them with hospitality and kindness, and send them to Pekin, whence they may return to their homes. By acting thus you will confer an obligation on the Sovereign of Great Britain, who values tenderly the lives of his subjects: we sincerely hope, that should an occasion present itself, you will perform this act of benevolence. We now are about to depart, having incurred fruitless expense, and lost our time to no avail. We wish you all prosperity and happiness.

(Signed) "*Hoo-hea-me.*
"*Kea-le.*"

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 7th moon, 15th day."

Early in the morning (August 11) the four chiefs came to the ship, bringing the letter and presents; and I delivered to each a copy of the memorial, which they read carefully over. The general, who was a man of much shrewdness, read several of the passages out aloud, and remarked on them; he evidently was not displeased with it. Woo, on the contrary, appeared in great anxiety and alarm, particularly when he saw that the sentry at the gangway would not allow the presents to come on board. In reply to his earnest solicitation on this point, I replied that I had already clearly explained my intention, and that unless accompanied by a public letter of explanation I positively would refuse them. I confess my opinion was that this would not be refused so soon, as it was evident that I was determined on the subject; but when it proved to the contrary, I felt myself bound to prefer sacrificing the value of the presents rather than swerve from my word. In the afternoon we visited the chiefs in the village, to take our leave. They received us with the greatest politeness, and again endeavoured to induce me to comply with their wishes: the only one who appeared in anxiety was Woo. The following morning, whilst we were unmooring, the general came off alone; he had been sent by Woo, under the idea that he possessed more influence over us than any of the others. In this he was not wrong; for the uniform pleasing and gentlemanlike deportment of this chief have gained him the respect and good-will of us all. On the present occasion he evidently had no expectation of attaining the object

for which he was sent, and after having once explained the purport of his message, he did not again allude to the subject. He was much less reserved in his expressions this day than he had ever shown himself before, and really seemed to feel the deepest regret at parting with us on such terms. On one occasion he wrote, "You have come from a distance of so many myriads of le, bringing us presents, and we have treated you in so unworthy a manner. *Kohan, kohan,* (alas, alas,) such are our laws."

I inquired if there were any Chinese about the court; he answered that there were a few; it is not therefore improbable that their intervention may have induced the King thus to disclaim all intercourse with us. In speaking about the ancient history of Corea, I mentioned an anecdote as a proof that his country was really independent of China. At the commencement of the Tartar dynasty, they possessed far more influence in Corea than at present, and endeavoured to compel them to shave their heads and adopt the Tartar dress. This the Coreans resisted with much courage, and finally not only expelled the Chinese Tartars from the country, but ravaged a great part of Leaou-tung. When the general read this, his eyes brightened, and he repeated several times with much energy, Kow-chee, "So it is." But he then took a pencil and wrote, "These are the affairs concerning the nation; I am ignorant of the circumstances." On my wishing to send on shore a few cases of liqueurs for himself and the other two chiefs, Kin and Le, he refused them with much emotion, saying, "We treat you thus

slightingly, and yet you continue to esteem us as friends, and honour us with gifts! Ko-seih, ko-seih (Have pity, have pity!)" and on one occasion he was almost moved to tears. On finally parting we assured him that however much we felt aggrieved by the conduct of his government, we should always entertain the kindest recollection of himself, and also of Kin and Le, both of whom had always been friendly and civil to us, though they were men of a very inferior stamp to the general, who we could not help feeling deserved a better fate than to pass his life among the suspicious and half-civilized Coreans.

On leaving this we proceeded to the southward, sailing outside of the Corean archipelago, with the view of fixing the situation of the outer islands as accurately as possible; in this we were considerably favoured by two days of clear weather and light winds. The chart drawn out by Captain Rees, which has already been forwarded, exhibits the result of his observations, and may prove of service to future navigators on approaching this part of the coast. On the 17th we saw the island of Quepaert, which appears to be more highly cultivated than any other part of Corea we have seen. On the 21st we passed Sulphur Island, but were prevented from landing there as we intended, by not being able to fetch the island: we passed about six miles to leeward; the volume of smoke issuing from the crater was very trifling. On the following day at noon we anchored in Na-pa-kiang bay.

Transactions in Lew-kew or Loo-choo.

The principal object which I had in visiting Loo-choo was to make the experiment whether the inhabitants might not willingly engage in commercial intercourse, now that an opportunity was offered to do so. The description given in Captain Hall's voyage of the hospitality and amiable manners of these people has excited a lively interest concerning them. I therefore could not avoid feeling that it was incumbent on us to bear in mind that what little connexion has hitherto subsisted between our countrymen and its inhabitants has been marked by the purest benevolence on their part. No British ship has ever touched here without experiencing their hospitality. Their motives for this conduct might appear doubtful, did it only apply to the King's ships which touched at Loo-choo in 1816 and 1827, but exactly similar hospitality and kind feeling was exhibited to our countrymen in distress, when His Majesty's ship Providence was wrecked here in 1797. I determined to deliver a short statement expressive of our wishes, but if it was objected to comply with them, not to press it in any way which might prove disagreeable, or tend to lessen those friendly sentiments which were established by the kind and judicious conduct of Captain Maxwell towards them. I therefore drew up the following paper, to be presented to the chiefs with whom we might first communicate; and if the proposal made was favourably received, it would then be a fitting

time to write a petition to the King, and accompany it with suitable presents.

Explanatory Statement.

The commencement is the same as the address to the King of Corea, describing where the ship came from and her cargo.

" On several former occasions, ships belonging to the royal navy have come to Loo-choo, and have always been received with hospitality and friendship by the chiefs and people of this country; the utmost readiness has been shown to supply them with everything of which they stood in need, without any wish for remuneration. You have done still more, by freely giving succour and relief to those who were in danger and distress; when a vessel of His Majesty the King of England was wrecked on your coast, in the 54th year of the last cycle. The fame of such acts of benevolence has been spread far and near; hence Englishmen, though they live at a vast distance, feel the greatest respect and affection towards the natives of Loo-choo. These friendly sentiments subsisting between us, we have now come here, wishing to establish commercial intercourse, whereby mutual advantages may arise to both parties, and the revenue of your country would be increased, whilst it would contribute towards the prosperity of the people in general. We therefore request the great mandarins to consult together on the subject, and report it to the higher authorities."

22d August 1832.

We arrived and anchored in the roads about a mile from the town at noon; but the weather was so boisterous that no boats ventured to come to the ship. The wind was directly off shore, but so violent that Mr. Gutzlaff and myself had considerable difficulty in getting on shore. We landed on the jetty at the entrance of the river. A crowd of people came down to meet us, one of whom accosted me in English, of which he knew a few words; but they were much pleased and astonished at hearing us address them in Chinese. We went to a temple adjoining and held a long conversation, in which we explained to them the object of our visit. We inquired for Madena and Amjah, who are mentioned in the voyages of Captains Hall and Beechey; they at first declared they were both dead; but Amjah shortly made his appearance in direct contradiction of this assertion. Two of the principal persons in our conference were named Ee-chih and Osoko; they both inquired after Captain Beechey, and told us that a whaler, the Partridge, Captain Stavers, had visited Loo-choo in the February previous, and had staid there three weeks on the most friendly terms. Ee-chih showed me a short English and Loo-choo vocabulary which he had made by the assistance of Captain Stavers. We were surrounded by a great number of decently dressed natives, most of whom spoke Chinese fluently, and we were overwhelmed with questions on subjects of every description. The terms in which we spoke of their countrymen

appeared to give much pleasure to all. Before we went away, Ee-chih requested we would give him a list of any things we wanted, that they might be sent to us; this was quite a voluntary offer on his part. With regard to our hopes to trade with them, Ee-chih shook his head, and said, they were too poor to have anything to exchange with us for our valuable goods. At parting, Ee-chih and the other chief promised to come to the ship the following day, if the weather moderated; and if not, I told him I should come on shore to deliver my letter at the temple inhabited by Captain Maxwell in 1816. Three Japanese junks were lying in the river, but the chiefs strongly disclaimed having any intercourse or trade with Japan; and declared that these junks had been driven to the southward by stress of weather, and merely taken shelter here to refit.

The gale continued unabated, so that no boats ventured out; in the evening (August 23) we landed with some difficulty at Pootsong, and were shown to the temple; Ee-chih and Amjah soon arrived; the latter accosted me in English, of which he could speak several phrases very intelligibly. We were requested to enter one of the apartments, tea and pipes were brought, and the utmost friendliness of manner shewn. However prominent urbanity and gentleness of disposition may be among the Loochooans, it could not blind us, though strongly prepossessed in their favour, to the utter indifference to truth which they manifest on all occasions. Truth, indeed, appears barely to be considered in the light of a virtue among them, if we may judge from the

careless manner in which they saw themselves convicted of the most flagrant self-contradiction in the space of a few minutes. Having waited for some time in the expectation of the arrival of a chief of rank, I delivered my letter to Amjah, with a request it might be forwarded immediately.

This day (August 24) the wind moderated, and during the forenoon we had a visit from Amjah and two other chiefs, all of them wearing their hatcheematchees, or caps of ceremony. They staid all the morning on board, and showed the greatest curiosity on every subject; Amjah clearly told me that the request to trade could on no account be granted; he also inquired if ours was the same ship which had been to Fuh-chou in the spring, and said that he was there himself at the time, in the Loochoo junk which annually trades with that port. Our object throughout the conversation was to convince them of the friendly feeling entertained by my countrymen towards them, the unreasonableness of their suspicions, and the great advantages they would derive from trade and free intercourse with us. Nothing seemed to surprise them more than our acquaintance with various parts of their manners and customs which we had acquired from the works of Captains Hall and Beechy, and it was evident that our knowledge of Chinese rather increased than diminished their suspicious alarm.

The following day two bullocks, with various other articles of provisions, came off, and we were particularly requested to say if we wanted any-thing further, and it should be provided. We were also

promised a reply to my letter should be sent the next day.

Early this morning (August 26) Amjah, Eechih, and several others came off, bringing the following letter in reply to my statement:

"Ma, the chefoo of Chungshan-foo, in the kingdom of Loochoo, gives the following reply to a document presented by Hoo Hea-me Fajin, which he has respectfully received. Therein it was stated [here follows the Statement, omitting all parts of it complimentary to themselves.]

"Upon examination, it appears that the wish entertained by your honourable kingdom to establish trade with our mean nation originated in sentiments of cordial friendship, for which we feel highly grateful; but our mean country is a mere jungle and by no means extensive; the land is sterile, so that there is scarcely any produce; neither is any gold or silver found in it. Thus we possess nothing to offer in exchange for your cloth, camlets, and calicoes. Moreover, our mean kingdom has never had any laws for the regulation of trade with foreign nations. Though this is a trifling concern, yet we can by no means change our laws, which are very strict; therefore it is truly difficult to report on the subject to the King.

"To conclude, we beseech Hoo Hea-me Tajin to examine thoroughly the reasons, as before assigned, which prevent our trading. This is the reply.

"Taoukwang, 7th year, 12th moon, 30th day."

This reply set the question of trade with the Loo-chooans entirely at rest. Amjah at first showed some anxiety, and when I had read it, inquired whether I felt satisfied with the purport. I explained to him, that though we should have been better pleased had it been different, yet that the friendly disposition shown even in refusing our request was very satisfactory, and that I should write a short letter to the chefoo, expressive of my feelings, also thanking him for the liberal present of provisions he had sent, and requesting him to accept a few trifles as a mark of my respect and gratitude. Amjah at first endeavoured to dissuade me from making any return, but desisted on seeing that I was desirous to do so; he said, "though we cannot trade with you, yet whenever any of your ships arrive and want supplies, we shall always be happy to furnish them." This disinterested hospitality is one of the best points in the character of the inhabitants of Loo-choo, who are certainly, in many respects, a gentle and amiable race. One of our visitors this day was the medical man belonging to the court; the same, Amjah told us, who attended Captain Maxwell when he broke his finger by a fall from his horse. He held a long conference with Mr. Gutzlaff, who presented him with a considerable stock of medicines, of which he had now no further need. Much objection was at first made to receive them, evidently rather from modesty than pride. On my requesting Amjah and Ecchih to name what they would prefer, the first named a musical snuff-box, and the other a telescope; letting me know that they were not for themselves

but to present to the King. At their invitation we all dined this day at Pootsong, where a neat and elegant repast was prepared for us. After dinner we walked some distance into the interior, and did not embark till after dark. The following morning we got under weigh, and on the 5th of September anchored in the Capsingmoon passage, and landed at Macao in the evening.

In concluding this Report, which has been drawn out to a length far beyond what I anticipated, I have to request the indulgence of the Honourable Court on many points, and to hope they will feel satisfied that any errors in judgment on my part, in the conduct of the voyage, have arisen from want of experience in a service of so novel a nature to me, rather than from deficiency of zeal in any cause which can further or promote the interests and character of the East India Company.

(Signed)

H. H. LINDSAY.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ON A VOYAGE TO

THE NORTHERN PORTS OF CHINA,

By the Rev. Mr. GUTZLAFF.

Mr. Lindsay's appropriate remarks upon the voyage of the ship Lord Amherst will amply have illustrated all the dubious points in regard to the possibility of establishing a trade to the northern ports of the Chinese empire. If I had not been encouraged to draw up a statement of facts which I witnessed, it would be presumption to comment further on the subject. The people, as well as the mandarins, communicated often their opinions to me in private; and I avail myself of this opportunity to make the particulars known to the representatives of the British nation in China. I regret that my humble opinion differs from the notions entertained in Europe respecting Chinese government and politics; but a sameness of facts, which came under my notice, deters me from blending excellent theoretical laws with their

practical observance. After having lived for a considerable time amongst the nation, I have had an opportunity of observing them in their various pursuits; but I am no politician to draw inferences which are beyond my sphere of actual observation.

Canton Province.

It is an unjust and insidious remark thrown upon the Chinese, that they hate strangers, and are averse to having any dealings with them. Even in Canton province, where foreigners are stigmatized by the hateful appellation of "barbarians," we found the people exceedingly friendly and hospitable.

The few naval commanders with whom we came in contact were more inimical towards us than any we met elsewhere. They being Fuhkeen men, honoured me with the title of their countryman; and when I reproached them with their inimical conduct towards friendly strangers, they replied, "if we consult our feelings, we are your friends and willing to assist you; but the least show of partiality towards foreigners is the direct road to degradation, and therefore we must be very careful." They likewise made an appeal to the strict orders of their superior officers, which emanated from the system of excluding barbarians from all intercourse with the inhabitants of the middle kingdom. These were in general the grounds whereupon they defended their notions.

We did not endeavour to carry here our commercial object into effect, and are therefore unable to judge about the probable result. But if we were as sure of the capital of the merchants residing along the east coast as we are of the good will of the natives, there would be very few obstacles to be removed.

On the eastern extremity of Canton province is the large emporium Tinghae or Chinghae, the next in importance to the capital of this province. We did not visit this port, but passed it so close as to see the numerous junks in the harbour. Many respectable houses are established at this place, and trade as well to Canton as to Teen-tsin, Shanghae and the Indian Archipelago. As the duties are very high, a great many junks anchor in a small cove of Namao island, and carry on smuggling to a great amount. The country yields no export produce but sugar.

Fuh-keen Province.

In the southern part of this province we found the people very diffident. We did not see any war-boat before we reached Amoy. This celebrated port is until this moment the resort of many hundred junks. In proportion as the adjacent island, Formosa, has been colonized and yielded export produce, sugar, rice and camphor, Amoy has increased in wealth and importance. Most of the Formosian colonists are natives from this district, and the capital for clearing the ground and maintaining the planta-

tions was advanced by Amoy merchants. Without Formosa the population hereabout would be starved; for the greater part of the supplies of rice come from that island. The enterprising spirit of the Amoy merchants greatly aids the increase of capital. They visit and settle in the most important parts of the empire, and either return annually with their profits or make large remittances. Its spacious and secure harbour, ample stores for exportation, and considerable capital, make the re-establishment of trade to this place very desirable.

When we entered this port it was not with the definite object of trade. We stood in want of provisions; to buy these was our first endeavour. If any opportunity for trading had presented itself, we would have availed ourselves of it.

We showed nowhere so much submission, and were nowhere so ill treated as in this port. Without remonstrance we saw the people, who either came alongside the ship, or looked at her from a distance, dragged away. They were bambooed on board the war-junks, which had anchored near us, that we might hear their cries, and afterwards exposed in the streets, wearing a congue with a label, expressive of their great crime, that of having looked at the barbarian ship. These punishments were not only meant to intimidate the people, who were very eager to have communication with us, but also to degrade the barbarians in the eyes of the public. On account of our tacit submission, the mandarins were emboldened

to surround our ship, and to point guns at us. They would have gone further if they had not observed that we could also make preparations for defence in case of aggression. We however remained passive, in order to ascertain the result of tacit submission.

His Excellency the Admiral sent an edict, wherein he stated that he acted in accordance to imperial orders. In the imperial edict, which he sent to us, (issued in 21st year of Kea King, 1817, shortly after the English embassy,) all barbarian ships are forbidden to approach the coast of Fuh-keen and Che-keang provinces; they are not allowed to anchor for a moment, but ought to be driven away. We anchored for several days, and nobody even endeavoured to drive us away. The barbarians are not allowed to go on shore. We went into the city, and in every direction, and his Excellency never took effectual measures to prevent it. No boat was allowed to approach in order to trade, but no punishment mentioned; and people who dared to look at us were punished very severely. Nobody could therefore make us believe that his Excellency was strictly executing the imperial orders. If he, however, thought it impossible to comply with them, and had to relax in rigour, why did he not relax in more especial points, whereby both parties might be benefited? The bearers of this message were unable to remove these scruples. It appears that all the restrictive laws of the Celestial Empire receive their validity from the

interpretation of the mandarins intrusted with them, and that this depends upon the force at their command to enforce them. Though their edicts were generally in a very solemn manner proclaimed to us, and we were enjoined implicitly to obey them, they retained to themselves the full power either of overlooking some parts or neglecting the whole.

In the audience to which we were invited we submitted to standing, whilst inferior mandarins were seated. The hostile proceedings against us were said to be in accordance with the unalterable laws of the Celestial Empire. "We have surely no right," was our reply, "to alter the laws of your honourable empire; but since they are unalterable, why have they been altered to exclude us? Kanghe issued an edict, which permitted foreigners to trade to all the ports of the middle kingdom; can this unalterable law be altered? why not cleave strictly to ancient regulations? we claim this wise regulation in our behalf, and consider it as unchangeable as all the other fixed laws. Besides, all our ports are open to your vessels; we give your subjects full liberty to trade and to settle; when your junks arrive, we do not surround them by war-junks, nor do we punish the people who go near them; on the contrary, we try by all means to encourage their commerce; do you think it unjust if we claim equal rights? Can any peculiar law do away with the law of nations? You praise your wisdom, you think yourselves highly superior to

barbarians, you talk of the transforming influence which the Celestial Empire has upon other nations; but is the former evident, and can the latter be exhibited, if you exclude foreigners from having any communication with you? Moreover, the Emperor shows compassion towards foreigners; this has never reached us, and we are very anxious that we might experience it by seeing all the ports open to our commerce according to ancient regulation. We therefore humbly beseech you to represent our request to his Imperial Majesty. Allow us to buy provisions and we will depart." This reasoning silenced our antagonists, and after many debates amongst themselves, they agreed to the last request. The people, and even their myrmidons, expressed loudly their approbation in regard to our reasonable requests, and we left the place filled with the hope of having not spoken in vain.

For fear that we might contaminate, or rather convince the lower mandarins with the justice of our cause, they sent a poor sailor on board, who not only had to become our comprador, but was also made responsible for our quitting the harbour. This man knew me in Manchow Tartary, and spoke very freely. He said, "The mandarins fear you very much; though you profess friendship towards them they do not believe you, for they themselves are insincere in their professions. As you have the means of injuring and retaliating, they apprehend you will do either, because they

themselves like to indulge in it whenever they can effect it with impunity."

Notwithstanding the great severity wherewith the people were treated who in the slightest degree showed their partiality towards us, they could not refrain from making inquiries after our cargo, and they showed us every act of friendship whenever we came in contact with them. Several of them came during the night on board to bring off some provisions, and greatly wondered that we did not take more decisive steps to render our situation more agreeable. The people, added they, are thunderstruck with the unheard-of treatment you have to experience, and are at a loss how to account for it.

Mr. Lindsay, however, thought it very prudent to gain the hearts of the mandarins by the utmost kindness and strict compliance with their wishes. He offered them large presents to silence their cupidity, and tried to conciliate them by the most engaging manners, yet every thing seemed to be lost upon them.

Little can be said about the sterile Pang-hoo islands or Pircadores. As they have excellent harbours they afford shelter to the junks which trade between the Chinese coast and Formosa. The naval officer of Se-sew-tou, an island where we came to an anchor, ordered us to go away immediately; but he relaxed in his peremptory commands as soon as he had been on board of our ship and received a few buttons as a present.

He directed us to go to Formosa, where we might be permitted to trade.

We went afterwards over to Formosa, and anchored at Woo-teaon-Keang, a small place where no mandarin resided. The people came off to us in great numbers, and amply provided us with provisions. We had no shelter, and were very near some sand-banks, which stretch out to a great distance. This was the reason for our not waiting the arrival of merchants, whom some of the people had called.

Formosa is rich in produce. European articles imported by Fuh Keen junks sell at a good price. The trade to all the ports, which are rather numerous, is in a very flourishing state. The colonists are represented as very refractory, and prone to rebellion. The Emperor sends very frequently commissions to investigate the conduct of the local mandarins. His generals have not yet been able to repress entirely the rebels which have taken shelter in the mountains. The aborigines of the east coast have maintained their independence until this moment. We saw none of them, and could gather very little information respecting them from the Chinese.

Circumstances prevented us from visiting Tsewen Chou (Chin Choo), a trading place of considerable importance. The harbour is said to be very shallow, so that even large junks are obliged to anchor at a great distance from shore. Though this city is in the neighbourhood of Amoy the soil is fertile, and produces a great deal of sugar for

exportation. The junks belonging to the place trade to the north, and visit occasionally Manilla and Singapore.

During our voyage to Fuh Chow we visited several junks which were on their way to Shanghae. They recommended us highly to visit this place as the best market for European articles.

When we passed the Hae-tan passage we had some intercourse with the admiral of this station, who was an old emaciated opium smoker. He, as well as another young naval officer, made inquiries about the drug, and seemed to be much disappointed when we had none to sell.

Many people came near us, and were not only delighted with the sight of the ship, but more so with the opportunity of bartering their commodities. Several of them went in search of merchants, and when they arrived the mandarin boats drove them away. We visited some villages, where we were most friendly received, and though the people lived in a state of abject poverty, they shared with us their scanty fare. We were not stigmatized by the odious appellation of (Fankuei), nor insulted in any way, but every individual was anxious to show us respect and friendship.

The harbour of Fuh Chow is almost entirely unknown to Europeans. Though this place presents the greatest facilities for trade, it is rather astonishing that no ship should ever have entered it. As soon as we had entered the harbour, our ship was crowded by numerous crowds of natives, who constantly made inquiries

about our cargo. Some of them went away to procure money for purchasing our camlets and calicoes. The national interest they took in our arrival was very great; they had learned from the little pamphlet that we were the nation who consumed so great quantities of their teas, and thereby furnished subsistence to many of their countrymen. Whatever the edicts of the mandarians published against us might enjoin them, they remained our steadfast friends, and showed themselves so to the last.

In going up to the city we were desirous of having an interview with the Deputy-governor Wei, but our wish was not fulfilled. In vain we waited for an answer upon our petition; the only thing we could learn from an answer from a document sent in by a mandarin was, that it was against the law to export tea by way of the sea, and against old customs to have any dealings with a barbarian ship. The mandarins temporized with us as long as a reinforcement of war-junks arrived, when they began to threaten the natives with the same treatment which they experienced at Amoy. We, on our part, requested them very politely to give them permission to come on board and sell provisions; but if they refused to comply we would enter the port. A circumstance happened which filled our antagonists with fear. After having tried all expedients to prevail upon them to procure us supplies, and give us an answer upon our petition, Mr. Lindsay resolved to enter the port. As soon

as we had come to an anchor in the river they granted to us every thing: and whilst the mandarins published fierce edicts, prohibiting all the boats to approach us, they gave full permission to the people to come on board, and they themselves began to trade. The war-boats became now our cargo-boats without any scruple, and we lived in perfect harmony. Had we not lost too much time in waiting for a decisive answer, we might have disposed of a great deal of our cargo, by immediately entering the harbour; but Mr. Lindsay allowed them a considerable time for deliberation, and when he received no answer he was forced to adopt some measures to avoid compromising our interests.

Fuh Chow, the city itself, is a very large place, and seems to be in a very flourishing state. We saw a great many junks loaded with timber going out to sea, and others entering with cargoes of cotton. When we arrived it was not in the tea season, and therefore we have no means to judge about the exportation to the northern ports, since there was nothing in store.

We came only with few mandarins in contact. These found it their interest to have commercial intercourse with us, and expressed their hope that we might return next year. The trade carried on in mandarin boats was so open that we begin to think the higher authorities knew about the transactions. Though we were rather on indifferent terms with the naval commanders, the farewell letter of one of the officers, who had lost his

button on our behalf showed by no means any angry feeling. Conscious of their own weakness, they strove to part with us on the best terms.

As our intercourse with the peeple was unrestrained, we saw with pleasure how anxious they were to secure our friendship. We received many letters of thanks for the attention we paid them, and many tokens of friendship to remind us of our stay among them ; some of them drew even up a petition in our behalf, addressed to the tseang-keun, a general and hoppo of Fuh Chow, whom they said to be our friend. This paper they required us to present to his Excellency, who would not scruple to allow us to trade. If the voice of the people, who, even under a tyrannical government, will be permitted to alter their wishes, the united request of the inhabitants of the tea hills in Fuh Chow district claims a trade with the British nation for the mutual benefit of both parties ; should this not throw something into the scales of measures which are to be adopted in future ?

The forts about Fuh Chow are in a dilapidated state, and even if they were in good order, the imperial army would want both skill and courage to defend them. We assured them of our friendship, and used every argument to convince them that we were solely come to enter into commercial transaction.

Che Keang Province.

Ning-po, an emporium which so frequently has been visited by Europeans, was to us utterly unknown as it regards its situation. We enjoyed during the time of our stay in the town full liberty to walk about. The mandarins showed us a great deal of civility and respect. The more we approached to the north, the better we became acquainted with our great antagonists the mandarins. This circumstance prompted us to be on our guard, in order to maintain the consistency of our character.

When we entered this well-built flourishing town we were hailed by the odious appellations of "hak-kwae" (black demons), and "hung-naon" (red bristles). The people appeared to be shy and reserved; but scarcely had they perused our small pamphlet when they treated us with every mark of respect and friendship, and the name of Ta-ying Kwo-jin (Englishmen) was upon the lips of everybody. The demand for this tract was very great, and the mandarins never opposed its distribution.

We had nowhere so much intercourse with the mandarins as at this place. They agreed upon the reasonableness of our being permitted to trade; they thought that Ning-po ought to enjoy the same privileges as Canton, as it had been visited at so early a period by European traders; but as the laws of the Celestial Empire prohibited trade

with foreigners they could only connive at our trading. As for themselves, they would be highly desirous that the trade was opened, for they would thereby derive profit as well for their own purses as for the provincial treasury. They requested us therefore repeatedly to have the matters properly represented at home. Then His Britannic Majesty might send a trust-worthy person of a firm character to arrange the matters; they, on their part, would report the whole to the Emperor, and state the advantages derivable from such a trade. Notwithstanding the prohibitory laws, which were held forth by the literary mandarins in order to debar us from trading, the te-tuh seemed to be much in our favour, but was unable to prevail against so great a host of opponents.

Had we here felt ourselves justified in insisting upon our demands, we might have traded to a great extent; and as private traders we might have demanded the fulfilment of an agreement made with some merchants whom the mandarins sent purposely on board. But it was always the grand object of Mr. Lindsay to follow his instructions, and to abstain from every act of violence except in self-defence. He showed here a great deal of patience for not entering the harbour before bad weather forced him to do so. Bamboo rafts, which were lashed to the war-junks, impeded our farther progress. At these strange means of fortifying the entrance of a river we were rather astonished, the more so as we shortly before had received a document

from the taou-tae, which communicated to us, "that the Celestial Empire swayed its sceptre over all the ocean, and kept the whole world in subjection and awe." Why then these symptoms of great apprehension on account of one single ship?

Here we argued upon having the hateful appellation of (E. barbarian) expunged from the public documents, and they yielded to us this point. We insisted upon having only documents with the seal of the respective officers stamped upon them, and this was likewise granted. As a circulating report had been sent from Fuh Chow to this place, which contained rather abusive terms, we obtained a sight of the letter sent by the deputy-governor of Fuh Chow to the Emperor in order to pacify our minds. This document was a mere report to the Emperor about our arrival and stay at Fuh Chow. The deputy-governor asks his Majesty whether he has not done right in not permitting us to trade? In the public audience, which we had before two general officers and a taou-tae, we were seated, whilst mandarins of the rank of major and colonel were standing. We discoursed our affairs properly without the medium of a merchant. These things, though trivial in themselves, influence greatly the mind of the natives in forming their ideas about Europeans, and in treating them accordingly; besides, direct communications to the proper authorities greatly tend to open the road to speedy redress.

During this audience the eyes of hundreds of spectators were fixed upon us. Nobody could refuse to the Ta-ying Kwo-jin the honour of having vindicated their national character in a solemn assembly.

We heard here many pointed remarks upon Chinese government from the mandarins themselves. Sun, a naval commander, was very intimate with me, and held frequent private conversations. He would often talk without disguise, by saying, "We are very weak; this you perceive yourselves, and it would be childishness to conceal it. You want to trade with us for no other purpose than to benefit yourselves and to benefit us. The liberty of trading will be granted to you if you demand what we have neither power nor reason to refuse; but be on your guard, for you will have to encounter a great many rogues, who will endeavour to thwart your design. Let your Sovereign send a man with a determined mind, who can overawe narrow-minded mandarins, and properly vindicate your national character, and you will doubtless succeed." This was the private opinion of a man, who, being upon intimate terms with the te-tuh, reported to us everything of importance.

Notwithstanding the repeated collision with the mandarins of this place, who tried by persuasion, stratagem, and main force to gain an ascendency, we parted with the most friendly feeling towards each other. The te-tuh sent some presents on board, and bade us a hearty

farewell. At the eve of our departure they offered to us 600 dollars as demurrage for the delay they had occasioned; this we refused, however. We were always assured that those military preparations were by no means intended for us; this was rather hard to believe, for when we came we saw no camps, nor war-boats in the river, and when we left all the forces dispersed.

The attachment of the people to our cause was here even greater than at Fuh Chow. During our stay at Ning-po a great number of merchants made repeated inquiries about our cargo. They entered upon the most minute circumstances, and discoursed the probability of re-establishing a trade which had contributed so much towards the wealth of their city. Those who were sent on board to make the bargain always inculcated that we ought firmly to demand such terms from the mandarins as would bring the trade upon a firm footing.

We parted from both the people and the mandarins with a promise to do our utmost in order to have the matters properly arranged. They told us, "arrange the matters with our Sovereign, and we will receive you next year with open arms."

The little trade we carried on at Kin Tang, a romantic island in the neighbourhood of Ning-po, showed the readiness of the people to commence commerce whenever they are freed from the vigilance of the mandarins.

Not far from Ning-po to the north Cha-poo,

the Chinese emporium for Japan, is situated. We did not visit this place, but we were afterwards recommended to go from Ning-po thither. According to all accounts, it is a wealthy place, with a tolerable harbour and much produce, principally raw silk for exportation.

Keang-Soo Province.

We had heard so much of the celebrated Shang-hae, that we were very desirous to see the place. The city is excellently situated for trade, in one of the most fertile districts of the Chinese empire, not far from Nan King, in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Yang-tsye-Keang, the largest river in Asia, and on the banks of a navigable river.

European vessels seem never to have traded to this place; perhaps the extensive sand-banks at the mouth of the Yang-tsye-Keang have greatly deterred ships from entering the river which leads to Shang-hae. If the whole was properly surveyed, few dangers could be apprehended from shoals, which stretch out to a great distance, but have regular soundings. The trade to a place which stands in connexion with a great port of Central Asia, whither scarcely ever an European has penetrated, claims the attention of enlightened statesmen who are anxious to open new channels for British industry and mercantile enterprise. We found here, to our great mortification, the mandarins very narrow-minded and ignorant.

We argued the point of granting us liberty to trade very warmly. The unalterable laws of the Celestial Empire permitted foreigners to trade to all ports, when their commercial relations with China were in their infancy; can these unalterable laws change when our commerce has arrived to such a degree of importance? The merchants of this place come to our ports; we grant them full liberty to carry on their commerce; can the Celestial Empire refuse an equal right when they ask for such a privilege? Do you not permit Cochin-Chinese and Siamese vessels upon the same grounds to come to your ports? You tell us that his Imperial Majesty highly compassionates foreigners; can his great compassion refuse the grant of so just a claim? After a great many debates, they came to the same conclusion as the mandarins at Ning-po, viz. that his British Majesty might send a person deputed on purpose to settle these matters with the Emperor.

The mandarins here were very much afraid of us; it was very difficult to come with them to an understanding; whilst the various camps were quartered under tents on both sides of the river, and had to endure all the hardships of the rainy season, they took no decisive measures to settle our affairs; though they had proclaimed in their public edicts that these martial preparations were made in order to repel the barbarians, they always asserted, when we asked them, that all this had been merely done that his Excellency the Te-tuh of the district might hold a military review. His

Excellency professed himself to be our friend, but gave us never any proof of his friendship. Two mandarins, who were sent on purpose from Soo Chow in order to have a conference with us, admitted that our demands were just, but repugnant to the laws of the Celestial Empire; nevertheless, they were willing to report the matter to the deputy governor, who would report it farther. When we at first presented our petition to the taou-tae he refused to receive it, and after having received it he rejected it, whilst he sent a very surly edict to intimidate us. Both his plans proved abortive, and he was reduced to the necessity of taking back our petition and of issuing a more reasonable edict, after he had apologized for his rudeness.

We insisted here upon being permitted to buy provisions and silks; both were granted; indeed it appeared that everything was practicable when we firmly demanded it, and that even the least thing was refused when we humbly asked for it.

They seemed greatly to dread our staying too long and our proceeding up the river. We do not know the result, if the latter had taken place. They tried every expedient in order to get us away, and were neither sparing in tears, imprecations, and the greatest humiliations in order to gain their ends.

The numerous merchants at Shang-hae would gladly have entered with us upon commercial transactions, if the mandarins had in the least degree relaxed in their vigilance. In order to

strike terror amongst all the merchants, they seized upon a very rich gentlemen, who was accused of having called our ship hither. Nothing could be so unfounded as this accusation, for we even did not know the name of the hong. Nevertheless, the people gave to their conversation a full flow, and never failed to discuss the justice or injustice of our cause.

I regret that we did not visit Soo Chow, one of the richest districts of the empire in the neighbourhood of Shang-hae; nor did we see Tung Chow, at the entrance of the Yang-tsye-Keang, neither any place about the Yellow River; but we visited Tsung-ming, an alluvial island at the north, at the mouth of the Great River. Whilst small unimportant islands in the Pacific Ocean have claimed the attention of the most able navigators, those extensive flourishing regions about the Yang-tsye-Keang and the Yellow River never attracted any notice, and until this moment they are never visited by Europeans, because they are unknown, and the coast has never been surveyed.

We had no time to visit Teen-tsin, the third emporium in the empire; nor could we go to Kin Chow, Kae Chow, or Nankin, the principal emporiums of Manchow Tartary, whither hundreds of Chinese junks annually repair and carry on a most advantageous trade. Since the Shantung people have been permitted to colonize this country it has begun to increase in wealth and strength, and is now the most productive country amongst all the regions about Peking.

Shang-tung Province.

We passed Kaon Chow, the most important emporium of this province, and the rendezvous of a great many junks. We touched at the Shan-tung promontory at Wei-hae-wei, where we found the mandarins very unfriendly. Shan-tung can give very little in exchange of imports. The people are strong and industrious, but very clumsy, and little qualified for merchants.

Remarks.

Our sudden appearance on the coast transfused general terror. We endeavoured to silence their fears by the most positive declarations that we merely came to trade. Nothing could equal the cringing servility which most of the mandarins showed whenever we came in contact with them. If they were men of probity, it would have been very painful to our feelings to see them degraded on our account; but the same men would be humble and arrogant, just as it suited their purposes.

The mandarins were everywhere anxious to get us away, and to send us to other districts which were not under their jurisdiction. From Fuh Chow, they recommended us to go to Ning-po; from Ning-po they directed us to go to Chapo or Shang-hae; from Shang-hae they tried to send us back to Cha-poo Ning-po, or Soo Chow, or advised us to go to to Kaon Chow; from Shan-tung they entreated us to go to Man-chow Tartary. This their friendly advice was

frequently given in the open assemblies by superior mandarins.

We have seen these mighty rulers undisguised. We lament their utter want of good faith; at the same time we must highly praise their readiness to comply, when they have no alternative but to yield. It is the greatest prudence that strangers at Canton are excluded from any intercourse with the mandarins, for they would lose all their influence as soon as they came in nearer contact; and even their most specious edicts would lose their power if the author was known to the reader. They will do everything if their self-interest is concerned; and this ought to be always the quarter where they are to be attacked.

Provincial egotism and prejudice were very prevalent. The mandarins, as well as the people of their respective places, were very anxious to secure to their districts the same advantages which accrue to Canton from trade with foreigners; but the insurmountable obstacle to effect so great an end, is always the unalterable imperial laws.

It would be the highest presumption in strangers to insist upon the alteration of laws whereby millions are guided, and which have the sanction of many centuries; but they have a right to ask a renewal of their ancient privileges, because ancient regulations are venerated in China, and constantly referred to, so that they would act entirely in conformation of true Chinese principles. Every nation claims the same privileges for themselves which they have granted to another

nation. If Chinese junks have the full permission to trade to our ports, have we no right to ask the same privilege? They have our permission certainly, but not that of their own government.

Great is the field for mercantile enterprise. If the coast is properly surveyed, if a commercial treaty is concluded, the manufacturer will be employed, and the merchant find an extensive market. We have been anxious to explore the interior of Africa; Central Asia is a more extensive and important field; if the former has drawn the attention of more scientific men, let the latter claim the attention of manufacturers and merchants.

Corea. Chaou-seen.

Perhaps no country in Asia, accessible by sea, has less been visited by Europeans. The productions are unknown, and the language has never found its way to Europe. Besides an account of a few Dutchmen, who had been wrecked on the coast and resided in the country for a great length of time, and the detail of a few Jesuits who went thither, we have no authentic description of this remote country. Those parts which we visited were fertile, but uncultivated. The inhabitants, a well-made race of people, lived in a most wretched state; they showed the greatest distrust, but grew more familiar the longer we stayed. They were exceedingly anxious that we should not approach their dwellings. Their man-

darins were more severe in their punishments than even the Chinese.

We were invited by an official messenger to come to Gan Keang harbour, which is not very far from the capital. When sending in our petition, we were assured that these matters should be duly represented to his majesty, who would return an answer upon our request. After considerable delay, a great mandarin arrived, who informed us that Corea, being a dependent state, had no will of its own, but implicitly obeyed the will of the sovereign of the Celestial Empire; they could therefore not permit us to trade, because they had not received the imperial sanction for such an uncustomary transaction. We refuted this assumption of vassalage, proving, from their own authority, that they were only a tributary nation. They were ashamed themselves that they had humbled themselves in the eyes of foreigners, in order to have a pretext for refusing them to trade. We left this place highly dissatisfied with the unnecessary delay incurred. We requested them to provide all English ships which occasionally might touch here, with provisions, to which they fully agreed.

To the south of Corea is an island of the name of Quel Paert, well cultivated, and excellently situated to carry on a trade with Corea, Japan, the northern part of China, and Manchow Tartary. We however did not visit it, and only viewed it from a distance.

When we arrived here the natives were rather shy, and did not show much cordiality; they grew, however, by degrees, more affectionate, but still prevented our walking about. Having the means of freely communicating with them, we endeavoured to impress them with the friendly feelings which the British nation cherished towards a people who had given them ample proofs of their disinterested kindness. They supplied us very readily with provisions, but were unwilling to enter into any commercial dealings, because this was against the law, and besides, their native country was very small and barren, and they could give nothing in exchange. We quoted to them the Sandwich Islands as an instance of the happy result of having entered into an intercourse with Europeans; though they greatly wondered at this, they were too much influenced by Chinese politics thus to change their system of exclusion on our behalf. Their trade is principally carried on with Fuh Chow. Thither they send annually their craft, with cargoes of provision and sulphur, and take Chinese manufactures in return. They denied their having any intercourse with Japan, though there were three junks from that country in the harbour. If we had not been prevented by the Loo Choo mandarins, we might have freely conversed with these Japanese, who were very anxious to conciliate our friendship.

It appears that China exercises a very great influence upon the surrounding nations. If China

gave the signal for opening a trade with the British nation, all those petty tributary states would be ready to follow the example of the Celestial Empire. This is perhaps not applicable to Japan, which has always maintained its independence of China, and acts to its own discretion; but it fully applies to Loo Choo, Corea, and Cochin-China. The most exclusive nation, the Coreans, trade only with Manchow Tartary and with Japan. Their ambassadors have the liberty of opening a shop or warehouse at Peking; so also the Cochin-Chinese and Siamese have the permission of bringing one or two junks free of duty, with their embassy to Canton. If Chinese notions about an ambassador are imbibed from these mercantile embassies, which seems to be the case, must we then be astonished that our ambassadors have been treated with so little decorum, because they were viewed in the same light?

In concluding this Paper, I sincerely express my hope that this voyage may tend to awaken that general interest for Chinese trade which so extensive a field for mercantile enterprise has to claim.

(True copy.)

(Signed) H. H. LINDSAY,

Secretary.

Canton, 10*th October*, 1832.

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